

THE ELECTRICAL WORKER OFFICIAL JOURNAL

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS.

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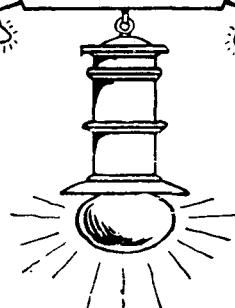
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ROENTGEN

BELL



MAY, 1911

EDITORIAL

Union Men in Congress

Snobbery

Workingmen's Compensation

Organization of Postal
Employees

TESLA

MARCONI

EDUCATION

THE ELECTRICAL



WORKER

OFFICIAL JOURNAL
OF THE

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

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THE ELECTRICAL WORKER

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Comment From American Federation of Labor

CONSPIRACY IS MANIFEST

To Crush Iron Workers' International Union by Fastening Crime Upon It
Unionists Thoroughly Aroused---Accusations of Criminality Against
Labor Men, Because They Are Labor Men, Are Reprehensible

Action Indianapolis Conference---American Federation of Labor Executive Council
Designated to Receive and Disburse All Funds for Defense

Washington, May 6. — The entire country has been informed through the press dispatches of the arrest and kidnapping of J. J. McNamara, Secretary-Treasurer of the Iron Workers, together with his brother, and their spiritizing away by detectives to Los Angeles, without having been given an opportunity to consult counsel, or defend themselves even in the most remote way. With apparent studied and prearranged manner, the columns of the daily press have been carrying an unusual amount of lurid and sensational statements of what is alleged to have occurred, and predicting even worse. From these incidents, indications are apparent that a conspiracy is attempted with the end in view to destroy the Iron Workers and cast odium on organized labor in general. The sentiments permeating the news assumes that simply because the men charged are connected with the activities of union labor they must of necessity be guilty of the crime charged. With only a few notable exceptions has there been any effort to suggest that it is unjust to prejudge; that the better method to be pursued would be to await until both sides have been heard before public decision is rendered. To build up prejudice and inflame the public mind when hein-

ous crimes have been charged against the accused is not in accord with the spirit of American institutions.

The officials of the American Federation of Labor have always been foremost in inveighing against even the slightest infraction of the law, and the rank and file of its membership are in entire harmony with this procedure. Times without number have the men of labor, although entirely innocent, been called upon by unfair, unprincipled and illegal combinations of wealth, to defend themselves against the machinations of unscrupulous men. And as often has the bath of fire proved the fallacious and unserviceable texture of the web woven to enmesh them.

Whenever a crime is committed, no matter by whom, whether it be a member of a union or not, after the accused has been tried by a fair and unbiased tribunal, if found guilty punishment should be inflicted. Organized labor asks no immunities from the law, neither is it entitled to any. Labor does not desire government to assist it in any way, other than that conferred on all citizens, but it does demand that it be permitted, in common with all others to work out its destiny within the law.

Immediately after the arrest and kid-

napping of the accused, President Gompers and Secretary Spencer of the Building Trades Department, proceeded to Indianapolis to confer with the officials of the International Unions located in that city. After a two days' conference it was advised that the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, to avoid diffusion of effort, take charge of the entire matter of receiving and disbursing funds, together with all other matters in connection with the case, so that ample opportunity for proper defense may be assured.

The men of labor believe that the men accused are innocent and they will use every effort to defend them against what they believe to be an unjust accusation. According to the concept of our institutions every man charged with crime is assumed to be innocent until he is proven guilty, and acting upon this assumption organized labor will raise sufficient funds to hire the ablest counsel that can be secured for the purpose of procuring for the accused a fair and impartial trial.

LLOYD BILL HEARING.

Committee on Civil Service Reform Continue Hearings in Reference to the Railway Mail Clerks.

Washington, May 6.—The second session of the committee on Civil Service Reform (house) met and continued its hearings on the Lloyd Bill, which provides specifically that department officials shall have no right to demote, discharge or interfere with employees simply for the reason that they are members of labor organization. Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor occupied the entire morning hour in presenting a mass of evidence to show that the railway mail clerks in various parts of the country had been reduced in rank, discharged and otherwise discriminated against. Nearly a full attendance of the committee was present. Second Assistant Postmaster General Stewart was also present, but upon the conclusion of Secretary Morrison's presentation the house was ready to convene and committee adjourned to meet later in the week, when further hearings will be had. Indications point to a thorough investigation into the attitude of the department in reference to the mail clerks, and it may be extended to cover the entire operation of the department.

EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Bills Looking to the Establishment of General Eight-Hour Day of Government Work Introduced.

Washington, May 6.—Three bills have

been introduced in Congress since the commencement of the present session, two in the House and one in the Senate. Senator Borah of Idaho is the author of the one in the upper house and Congressmen Hughes and Buchanan the ones in the lower house. These bills provide, in general terms, that all work performed now by the government shall be done in the eight-hour day, with the further provision that such work as can be executed by the government and let by contract to private contractors must also be confined to the eight-hour day in the fulfillment thereof.

REGULATE IMMIGRATION.

Sentiments Expressed at Washington Meeting Against the Indiscriminate Admission of Aliens.

Washington, May 6.—"It is time for the United States to forsake the sentimental notion that this is the 'home of the oppressed, and begin the regulation of its immigration laws with some regard to the usefulness of its immigrants as producers rather than as consumers." This expression was used by Theodore Marburg of Baltimore, at a recent meeting of the American Society of International Law. "We owe much to the world, but a great deal to ourselves as well," he said, "We had a political test of our form of government in the civil war, but the social test is yet to come."

PLEA FOR MORALITY.

Wife of the Governor of Iowa Addresses International Congress on Child Welfare.

Washington, May 6.—Arguments and efforts made and used by the trade unionists of the country found expression in the addresses made recently before the Child Welfare Congress in Washington. Among those who addressed the congress was Mrs. B. F. Carroll, wife of the Governor of Iowa. The consensus of opinion was that the moral standards of this country were not as high as they should be, and that much could be done to improve them. These discussions rarely fail to bring out the fact that industrial conditions which compel children to find employment at an early age are followed by decreased moral standards and physical deficiency.

The House Committee on public buildings and grounds has commenced a vigorous investigation in the District of Columbia of the buildings occupied by the various departments of government. It has been discovered that many of the buildings are in such a state of neglect

and so littered with boxes, paper and rubbish in halls and exits that difficulty would be experienced in case of fire of any great number of persons being able to escape. Recommendations will be immediately made to remedy this condition of affairs.

LLOYD GEORGE'S NEW BILL.

Covers a Wide Area and Seeks State Aid in Procuring Humanitarian Methods for Workmen.

Washington, May 6.—Intense interest is evinced regarding the plans now being worked out in England by Mr. Lloyd George to establish a state insurance against sickness, disability and unemployment. Mr. George has given much time and consideration to this measure, and it is now about ready to present to the House of Commons. The Chancellor, it is stated in the English papers, has been amused by the protest against his plans by the members of the Social Democratic Federation, the great advocates of unlimited state action, against the entry of the state into this domain. The Chancellor says: "What an irony for Socialists to oppose state intervention."

ANOTHER SMASH.

Associated Press Directors' Meeting Regaled by Herman Ridder in the Role of Union Detractor.

Washington, May 6.—At a meeting of the new board of directors of the Associated Press in New York recently several addresses were delivered, and among them one by Herman Ridder. Mr. Ridder took a vigorous fall out of the manufacturers of paper and the methods employed in its manufacture, and evidently his critical and peevish mood became intensified, for in the conclusion of his speech he delivered a philippic against the trade unions, a fertile field for all captains of industry. In part, he declaimed: "The labor unions destroy incentive for efficient labor. They seem to be arrayed against promotion or the culling out of competents from incompetents. They bring every member to a dead level of efficiency. They are against bonuses." And so on ad infinitum. Strange indeed that labor unions are so reprehensible and yet weather the storm of so many fierce gales as just set in motion by Mr. Ridder.

"A CALL TO DUTY."

Miners of Nova Scotia, on Strike for Over Twenty Months, Still Loyal to Organization.

Washington, May 6.—A pamphlet has been issued and distributed in Great

Britain explaining the situation in Nova Scotia. The coal miners of that country are urged to remain away from Springhill, N. S. The emigration office states there is no change, and that the strike has been on for over twenty months. The miners are fighting for the recognition of their union, for a wage scale agreement and for the payment of coal per ton instead of per box and for a fair docking system.

With the change in political complexion of the House of Representatives there comes a corresponding change in the personnel of the employes acting in various capacities, from committee clerks to janitors. Over 300 of these employes will be replaced during the coming two or three weeks.

POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT CHALLENGED.

Senator LaFollette and Congressman Lloyd Introduce Bills in Both Houses.

CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS ARE DENIED.

Hearings Before House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service Have Already Begun.

Washington, April 22.—When the Post Office Department commenced its present efforts to deny the men employed in the railway mail service the right to organize by official orders, public and secret, discrimination, correction, discharge, reduction in rank and pay, and by these reprehensible methods forcing them out of the service, it evidently did not anticipate that much opposition would be encountered. Contrary to expectation the men in this branch of the service almost unanimously resented any attempt on the part of the department depriving them the right of association, as an invasion of their constitutional rights. As a silent answer to the department forbidding organization, several unions have been formed, and with rapidly increasing membership. Four charters have been issued from headquarters this week. From many sections come the report that local unions are in the process of formation.

Senator LaFollette congressionally took up the cause of the railway mail clerks by issuing a letter and enclosing a blank containing a list of questions. This letter and blank was mailed to the clerks. The senator assured the clerks receiving his communication that all answers would be considered confidential. As a result replies have been coming in at the rate of approximately 400

per day, and from present indications fully 90 per cent will respond. The letters from the clerks clearly prove that the department has gone the full length to attain its end.

A few days ago two bills were introduced in Congress, one by Senator La Follette, S. 1162, and one by Congressman Lloyd, H. R. 5970. The latter bill was referred to the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service. The Senate bill has been referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment. Following this comes a bill introduced by Congressman Howard of Georgia, House Resolution 102, which demands a "thorough and searching inquiry into operation and conduct" of the Post Office Department. Among several subjects specifically designated to be inquired into are the following:

"First: If un-American practices of intimidation and coercion of postal employees exist.

"Second: If employees in the Railway Mail Service, under threat of suspension, have been denied the right to organize for mutual protection and to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor."

Upon the introduction of these bills effort was immediately made to get a hearing before the House Committee to which had been referred the Lloyd bill. As a result a hearing was had on Thursday, April 20, and President Gompers and Secretary Morrison appeared on behalf of the American Federation of Labor. President Gompers outlined the structure and scope of the labor movement and emphatically insisted that as the American labor movement was constructed in accordance with American institutions no department of government or official had the right to deny to the men employed in the classified service the exercise of their constitutional guarantees. He also read before the committee the obligation taken by members of the American Federation of Labor, and challenged anyone to dispute the fact that the obligation in any way precluded the individual conforming to the same and at the same time comply with the obligation imposed upon men by the department in the efficient discharge of their duties.

Secretary Morrison then produced a mass of documentary evidence to prove that the post office department has openly and secretly discriminated against the American Federation of Labor. Much of the evidence consists of letters from a number of Railway Mail Clerks, containing lists of questions that have been propounded to them, and the similarity of these questions at once indicate that they had been framed by one

individual. Secret orders of the department were also presented.

By this time the committee began to realize the importance and magnitude of the case, and as the lower house has ruled that no committees shall remain in session during the debate on the reciprocity measure the committee was compelled to adjourn as the house was about to be called to order. No definite time has been set for another meeting, but it will occur next week. At that time no doubt some representative of the post office department will be present.

The activities of the department in this direction has caused intense interest, and a number of congressmen have introduced bills that relate directly to the mail service. The fact that former Postmaster General Cortelyou publicly acquiesced in the formation of unions among the men in the classified service is decidedly interesting, and throws an unwelcome shadow over the action of the present head of the post office department.

BRITISH RAILWAY CLERKS.

Low Wage Condition Becoming Unbearable Among Clerical Employees of Transportation Lines.

Washington, May 6—Employees of railways in Great Britain, in clerical departments, are urging an increase in wage and bettered conditions.

In view of the fact that there are 77,000 men employed in railway offices, and also that there are 180,000 railway shareholders, and a large number of the general public interested in railway matters, the Railway Clerks' Association has issued some interesting facts and figures in a pamphlet, entitled "The Life of the Railway Clerk." It gives a brief description of the main conditions of employment in the offices of British Railway Companies, and a plea for a higher scale of wages for all grades of railway clerical workers. The salaries paid on some of the principal railways are quoted, and they work out at a very low rate indeed, ranging from \$5.25 to \$8.90 per week, the average being \$6.70.

The rate of pay of railway clerks, compared with that earned by Post Office Clerks, is much lower, and it is contend ed that with the higher cost of living the difficulties of a married railway clerk has greatly increased. A. G. Walkden, the General Secretary, says his association now contains over 150 branches and upwards of 12,000 members and it has been instrumental in obtaining redress in the matter of unpaid Sunday duty from nearly all the principal railway companies. It will also be recollected that Mr. Goulding recently introduced a bill into the House of

Commons to secure for every clerk (and Station-master) employed by a railway company Sunday rest or a free and uninterrupted rest day of twenty-four hours in each week.

ENGLISH INJUNCTIVE PROCESS.

Operative Bleachers' Dyers and Finishers' Union Restrained From Parliamentary Levy.

Washington, May 6—News has just been received from across the Atlantic that another injunction against a Trade Union paying the Parliamentary levy has been enforced during the week. The case was heard at Manchester, and the plaintiff was W. E. Boardman, a foreman bleacher who, it was stated, had received an indemnity from the Trade Union Defense League. Vice-Chancellor Leigh Clare granted the injunction applied for against the Operative Bleachers', Dyers', and Finishers' Association, restraining them from imposing an annual levy of 6d. per member for Parliamentary and local labor representation, and he expressed the opinion that the indemnity of the plaintiff by the Trade Union Defense League was quite legitimate and legal. There may be an appeal against the inclusion of the local labor representation, as it is contended that this goes beyond the Osborne judgment.

RAPS TAYLOR SYSTEM.

President O'Connell of the International Association of Machinists Exposes "Efficiency" Plan.

Washington, May 6—In his argument before the Labor committee of the House President O'Connell of the Machinists bared the entire scheme of the advocates of the Taylor system, now being attempted to be installed at various works of the government. He said:

"It is the unfair employer, in conjunction with the lead pencil faddist, who is attempting to introduce such schemes and schisms with the view of making it appear that labor is being benefitted and labor is going to get more money. That is a huge joke. The moment the laborer gets more money he has to go out and get it himself. No employer is going around handing money to laborers on a silver platter. Do not let anybody tell you that. The factories and workshops where the Taylor system and other systems apeing it are in effect, there labor is absolutely helpless, absolutely shackled. They are dependent because individuality has been driven out of them absolutely by that system. Mr. Taylor says give us strong men, with big physi-

cal bodies, but take their heads off; we do not want men with heads; we want men with big hands, strong arms and strong bodies, but without heads. We will do the thinking for them. We do not want anybody around here who can think. We have a man who will do the thinking and tell them when to stop and when to start, and how much they must do, and if they do not do it then they go to the scrap pile."

SENATE LABOR COMMITTEE.

Senators Finally Arrive at Agreement Over Personnel of the Several Standing Committees.

Washington, May 6—The committee in the Senate to which all labor bills are referred is designated as the committee on "Education and Labor." During the last Congress, the sixty-first, the Senate Committee stubbornly refused to meet, although call after call was issued by its chairman, Senator Borah, and every member polled by the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee the day before and the morning of the meeting, but without avail. The personnel of the committee has been changed in this Congress, and hopes are entertained that more activity will be displayed when Chairman Borah calls the committee together. It would not be out of place, however, for trade union constituents of the members on this committee to call the attention of their senators to the importance of labor legislation in contemplation. The members of the committee are as follows:

Senators Borah of Idaho, Penrose of Pennsylvania, du Pont of Delaware, Page of New Hampshire, McLean of Connecticut, Kenyon of Iowa, Rayner of Maryland, Bankhead of Alabama, Shively of Indiana, Swanson of Virginia and Martine of New Jersey.

ANTI-INJUNCTION—ANTI-TRUST.

Representative Wilson (Miner) Re-introduces His Bill to Correct Abuses in Issuing Injunctions and Relief From Anti-Trust Law.

Washington, April 22—Last Saturday Mr. Wilson introduced his bill in the House "To regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedure thereon and to limit the meaning of 'conspiracy' in certain cases." The number of the bill is H. R. 5328. It was referred to the House Judiciary Committee. The full text of the bill is as follows:

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled. That no restraining order or injunction shall

be granted by any court of the United States, or a judge or the judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employee, or between employers and employees, or between employees, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, or involving or growing out of a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law; and such property and property right must be particularly described in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant or by his, her, or its agent or attorney. And for the purposes of this Act no right to continue the relation of employer and employee, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered, or treated as property or as constituting a property right.

Section 2. That in cases arising in the courts of the United States or coming before said courts, or before any judge or the judges thereof, no agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment, or the assumption or creation or termination of any relation between employer and employee, or concerning any act or thing to be done or not to be done with reference to or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other civil or criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted, or damages recovered upon as such, unless the act or thing agreed to be done or not to be done would be unlawful if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined unless such act or thing agreed to be done would be subject to be restrained or enjoined under the provisions, limitations, and definitions contained in the first section of this act.

Sec. 3. That all acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

PHYSICAL DETERIORATION.

British Workmen Receding in Vitality Demonstrated by Tests by the Military Authorities.

Washington, May 6—When President Gompers appeared before the committee on Labor (House) in opposition to the establishment of the Taylor system in the government arsenals he stated that the introduction of this scheme was without consideration of the well being of

workmen; that no system should be inaugurated that did not have a due regard for the average physical ability. In illustration he made the following statement relative to the physical deterioration of British workmen in many industries, which was discovered by military officials while recruiting for service in the Boer war:

"The results were first demonstrated during the Boer war, that is, it was first demonstrated in that war in recent years, although it had been demonstrated before that time. In that war, when the Britons were appealed to to enlist in the war the measurements taken by the representatives of the military authorities showed a diminution in the stature of the British workmen in many industries. Their chest measurements, their height and weight were found to be entirely disproportionate and they had deteriorated."

BEARING FRUIT.

Labor's Effort to Establish Six-Day Week for Workmen Wields Influence on Steel Trust.

Washington, May 6—Although the efforts of organized labor is deprecated in many quarters, yet it is significant that constant changes are taking place in the industrial world in the direction and in conformity with the views promulgated by organized workmen. The steel trust, the inveterate and persistent enemy of union workmen, is now actively engaged in following out one of the primal principles of union labor that workmen should be permitted to rest one day in seven. At Sharon, Pa., it is reported that "six days only" for all laboring men is the mandate which was posted in the south works of the Carnegie Steel Company. The blast furnace does not close down on Sunday and the company will employ extra men, as also will be the case in other departments running continuously. The order further specifies that if "a man is one of those who is assigned to Sunday work he must lay off some other day of the week."

LABOR COMMITTEE HEARINGS.

Taylor System Up Before Committee on Resolution for Investigation—Three Sessions Held.

Washington, May 6—The Labor Committee of the House of Representatives was called to meet in pursuance of a resolution referred to it calling for an investigation into an "efficiency" system. President Gompers, James O'Connell of the Machinists and N. P. Alifas, representing the workmen at the Rock Island,

Ill., arsenal, appeared and made arguments against the system in favor of a thorough investigation by the Labor Committee.

FEDERATED RAILROAD TRADES.

Victimizing of Employees in Shops of Pennsylvania Lines Causes Cessation of Work on Pittsburg Division.

Washington, May 6—"Before making this reduction in force, however, we desire to have an expression from our laborers as to whether or not they are members of labor organizations, or whether it is their intention to join one of the labor organizations now being organized in this vicinity. In this reduction of force to live within our allotment it is our intention to first lay off the men who are members of the organization, or who propose to join the organization. Advise us not later than Monday p. m. the answer of your men to the question, 'Are you a member of a labor organization; if so, what? Is it your intention to join one of the labor organizations now being organized in this vicinity? W. T. Hanley."

The above was addressed to all foremen of the Pennsylvania lines in Pennsylvania, and is the fundamental cause for 4,000 employees in the shops on the Pittsburg division leaving their employment. Since the men commenced organizing in February the company have been picking men off every day for the sole reason of their membership in labor organizations. Numerous conferences have been held between representatives of the men and officials of the road, but the railway officials have stubbornly refused to give any consideration whatever to the grievances of their employees. The feeling has been growing in the minds of all the men that this action on the part of the company was arbitrary, and also believing that their turn to be discharged might come at any moment added another element of restlessness which culminated in a spontaneous decision to cease work. Added to the many arbitrary acts was a statement attributed to Superintendent Morrow, who is quoted as saying:

"That owing to the late rulings of the interstate commerce commission the company had to be very careful about handholds and grabirons, etc., and that it was impossible for an old man to climb on the roof or under the cars and to attend closely to that work, and that consequently they had to dispose of the older employees and get younger men who were more active and better capable of performing the work satisfactorily." Some of the men laid off as too old were only 36 years of age.

Another attempt is to be made to adjust the grievances with the company, but if it fails indications point to the trouble spreading and involving the entire system.

BUTTONMAKERS' STRIKE SETTLED.

Satisfactory Agreement Has Been Reached and Employees Have Been Reinstated in Old Positions.

Washington, May 6—Telegraphic advices to the American Federation of Labor contain the news that the Buttonworkers of Muscatine, Iowa, on strike for a number of weeks, have reached an agreement with their employers, and have returned to work. The agreement includes an increase in wages and readjustment of a number of grievances relative to the weighing of the product produced by the workmen and workwomen. Over 1,000 were involved in the controversy.

INVESTIGATION DESIRED.

House Resolution Introduced Seeks Inquiry Into Methods Employed and Work Performed by Department and Postmasters.

Washington, May 6—A resolution has been introduced in the House of Representatives and has already reached the calendar authorizing the committee on postoffices and post roads to institute and carry forward an investigation into the conduct and administration of the affairs of the Postoffice Department, and of the service under and in connection with the same, in order to ascertain whether abuses exist, either in the department or in the service. According to the resolution the committee will also be empowered to inquire as to the time devoted by the postmasters of the first and other classes to private enterprises and personal vocations. Numerous other subjects relative to the activities of postmasters is contemplated. This resolution is one of the results accruing from the department's treatment of the railway mail clerks.

SEAMEN'S BILL.

Bills Introduced in Both Senate and House to Protect American Seamen and Encourage Training of Boys.

Washington, May 6—Senator La Follette has introduced a bill to abolish the involuntary servitude imposed upon seamen in the merchant marine of the United States while in foreign ports, and also the involuntary servitude imposed upon seamen of the merchant marine of

foreign countries while in the ports of the United States. It contemplates also the prevention of undermanning and unskilled manning of American vessels, and to encourage the training of boys in the American Merchant Marine, and to amend the laws relative to American Seamen.

Representative Wilson has introduced in the House a Companion Bill. Indications point to decisive action being taken during this session of Congress relative to this important matter, which has been held up for many sessions.

BETTER LAWS ASKED.

Canadian Officials of Labor Active In Their Efforts to Secure More Adequate Statutes.

Washington, May 6—A delegation representing the Quebec executive of the Trades and Labor Congress waited upon the Prime Minister of that Province recently for the purpose of asking certain amendments to the labor laws. The proposed amendments dealt with workmen's compensation, the price of school books, the improvement of sanitary conditions in factories, Sunday labor, regulation of laundries and tailoring at home. A delegation from the Ontario Executive of the Congress also waited on the premier of the Province and suggested raising the age limit for factory children to sixteen years, providing better heating for foundries and providing for the inspection of clothing.

RECALCITRANT UNIONIST.

Refused to Pay Assessment Levied by His Organization to Defray Expense for Labor Representation.

Washington, May 6—A British trade union journal makes timely comment on Osborne, the union member who refused to pay the assessment levied by his union to defray its share toward maintaining members in Parliament, and whom it will be remembered carried the matter to the courts. Osborne's reprehensible act is condemned by the great body of unionists in Great Britain, as it should. The comment follows:

Our "friend" and fellow trade unionist Osborne is again top dog. His executive council expelled him after offering him and a few more like him the coppers he had paid for labor representation. They also closed the branch of which he was a member. Osborne appealed. The first court said the executive council was quite within its right. The second court has reversed that decision. Now the case goes

to "the lords," and meantime Osborne gets costs of the two courts below, and again he may put his tongue in his cheek till "the lords" decide. Osborne will go down to posterity as one who made strenuous efforts to strangle our new hope, the labor party, and he will appear as ridiculous to us in years to come as King Chanute waving his sceptre and commanding the rising ocean to go back.

PRINTERS' FIGHT.

London Society of Compositors Establish Daily Labor Paper in Contest for Shorter Workday.

Washington, May 6—In London the printing trades are now fighting a winning battle for a shorter workday. A new daily labor paper has been put in the field by the London Society of Compositors. The paper is intended not alone to voice the printing trades' side of the present dispute, but also to voice the wider sentiments of trade unionism generally and become a general workmen's newspaper. The paper is called the Daily Herald, and its price halfpenny daily.

FLORIDA UNIONISTS ACTIVE.

Washington, April 22—Organized labor of the state of Florida is up and doing and will seek to have the legislature enact into law an employer's liability bill, establishment of a bureau of labor statistics, together with other constructive legislation.

DEPARTMENTAL COERCION.

Reprehensible Methods Adopted by Post-Office Officials in Denying Employees Right of Organization.

INTIMIDATION BEING PRACTICED.

Clerks in Railway Mail Service Met With Alternative of Leaving Their Employment or Affiliation in Unions.

Washington, April 8—Because the railway mail clerks have been forming local unions and securing charters from the American Federation of Labor, Second Assistant Postmaster-General Joseph Stewart instructed the division superintendents to inform the clerks that the Department considered it "inimical to the best interests of the Government" for them to form a secret organization and requested them to govern themselves accordingly. As a result of this order the clerks have been and are being informed

that if they join a union they will be discharged. The Chief Clerk of the Railway Mail Service in San Francisco is calling the employes in that service into his office and asking that a document be signed which contains the following paragraph and pledge: "We will not join any brotherhood or labor union while in this service."

Notwithstanding this hateful form of intimidation, a great number refused to sign a pledge to abandon their union.

The hostility of the Post Office Department to the American Federation of Labor can not be explained, because thousands of Government employes are now members of unions affiliated to the Federation.

Senators and Representatives are receiving letters protesting against the intimidation that these employes have to endure, and as a result of the protest a number of bills will be introduced to furnish the relief desired, as soon as Congress reconvenes, Monday, April 10.

Senator LaFollette says in a letter to the railway mail clerks, under date of March 31, 1911, that "the clerks have a right to organize, and if the officers of the Department are endeavoring to prevent them from doing so by threats of discharge such action is without legal authority or moral right," and if he finds conditions in the railway postal service as represented, he will introduce and do everything in his power "to pass a bill to prevent the continuation of such un-American practices, and to preserve to all Government employes the right of petition which belongs to every citizen, and the right to form or join organizations for the improvement of their labor conditions." Following is copy of the letter:

March 31, 1911.

My Dear Sir:

My attention has been directed to a letter of instructions issued by Second Assistant Postmaster General Stewart to division superintendents to the effect that it is "inimical to the interests of the Government" for clerks to organize, and "that it is incompatible with their obligation to the Department" for them to assume another obligation.

I am also informed that division superintendents and clerks in charge, in carrying out instructions, were directed "not to publish this order, but let it go out by word of mouth," and upon receipt of this letter, ordered railway mail clerks to call at the office, and informed them "that the Department disapproves of organizations among railway postal clerks." This statement was supplemented by a question in substance as follows:

"Knowing this, will you continue active in the federation movement?"

I am advised that the clerks were given to understand that their continuance in the service depended upon the answer.

It is further represented to me that this system of intimidation has been, and is being carried on to such an extent that clerks have been prevented from exercising their right to join a union.

I desire to secure direct statements from railway mail clerks as to whether, in any way, they have been so threatened or intimidated. If you have been approached and an effort made to prevent you from joining or to force you to withdraw from a union or to cease your activities as a union man, state fully the circumstances, and be particular to state the date and place where such effort was made and the name or names of any officer or officers who made such effort, or were present when you were thus interviewed.

The railway mail clerks have the right to organize. If the officers of the Department are endeavoring to prevent them from so doing by threats of discharge, such action is without legal authority or moral right. If I find conditions in the railway postal service to be generally such as has been represented, I shall introduce and do everything in my power to pass a bill to prevent the continuation of such un-American practices, and to preserve to all Government employes the right of petition which belongs to every citizen, and the right to form or join organizations for the improvement of their labor conditions.

During January and February there was general complaint because certain changes in the regulations imposed added burdens upon the railway mail clerks. A conference between representatives of the railway postal clerks and the Post Office Department officials was subsequently held, at which it was claimed an understanding was reached that certain changes would be made, which would adjust the grievances of the clerks. I am desirous to obtain information as to the effect of these changes, and to know if they have resulted in removing the causes of complaint.

Enclosed is a blank, submitting questions to which I would be pleased to have you make reply. Your answer will be held confidential, except as to the facts stated, as it is my purpose merely to collect the information and present it to Congress without disclosing the names, or any circumstances which would lead to the identity of my informants.

Trusting to receive a prompt reply, I am,

Very truly yours,
ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE.

CONTEMPT OF COURT.**Six Bills Have Been Introduced in Lower House Providing Trial by Jury in Indirect Contempts.**

Washington, May 6.—With the constant and persistent insistence by the American Federation of Labor that the courts are not clothed with the authority of law to fine or imprison men for acts committed against the order of the courts, when those orders are not based upon statutory law, has made itself felt is evidenced by the fact that six bills have been introduced correcting this evil. All the bills referred to contemplate restricting the courts to punishment for contempt only when the contempt is committed in the actual presence of the court. Other so-called contempts, almost entirely confined to blanket injunctions issued by Judges in labor disputes, named indirect contempts are to guarantee to the accused a jury trial.

BUTTON WORKERS' LOCKOUT.**Employees Locked Out in February—Stand Loyal to Union.**

Washington, April 8.—Information reaches A. F. of L. headquarters that Button Workers' Protective Union No. 12854 of Muscatine, Iowa, is still pluckily maintaining itself against the lockout precipitated by their employers over a month ago.

Correspondence from the secretary of this union, Miss Pearl McGill, conveys the information that many misleading reports are emanating from sources, suspected to be inspired by the employers, which does injustice to the Button Workers. It is stated that the locked out men and women have conducted themselves in an exceedingly quiet manner during the entire course of the contest. It is quite possible that interests inimical to the employees are using every effort to discredit and discourage the members of the Button Workers' Union. Conditions in this industry have been very bad for years, and finally reached a climax a few weeks ago in the organization of the great bulk of button workers in the city mentioned.

EIGHT HOURS FOR WOMEN.**California Legislature Enacts Shorter Workday for Women.**

Washington, April 8.—The legislature of California has just passed a stringent eight hour workday law for women and

Governor Johnson has signed it. The provisions of the new statute cover all occupations, save the exception that the law shall not affect the harvesting, curing, canning or drying of any variety of perishable fruit or vegetable. The penalty attached for violation cannot be less than \$50 for each offense, and may reach \$200, with a jail sentence of from five to thirty days, the latter discretionary with trial court.

Another bill was approved which provides for the manufacture of supplies by prison labor to be used exclusively by the institution conducted by the state. Safeguards are provided that convict labor will not come into competition.

TRENCHANT CRITICISM.**Boston's Foremost Publication Takes Issue With Post Office Officials.**

The Boston Globe has the following editorial on the order of Second-Assistant Postmaster General, Joseph Stewart:

"To say that Mr. Joseph Stewart, second assistant postmaster general, was disingenuous in trying to make it appear that the union of the railway postal clerks is a secret organization, is to put it mildly.

"Mr. Stewart certainly knows that the railway mail clerk's union is not a secret body and that it is affiliated with the A. F. of L., one of whose fundamental rules regarding government employees is that they must obey the rules of their department, despite what they may think of the justice of such rules. In joining a union the postal employees take no 'secret oath' or obligation, and Mr. Stewart is guilty of lack of candor at least in saying that it is incompatible with the postal clerks' obligation to the department that they should assume another oath with a secret organization in the service which may at any time interfere with the obligations which they have assumed upon entering the service.

"It is a short-sighted policy. It will not result in getting the best men for the service or in improving the service. Postal employes, being American Citizens, will hardly submit to it."

Practically all the churches observed Sunday, April 30, as "Tuberculosis Day" in Washington, D. C. All sermons preached treated in some manner the great work now being carried on to prevent the spread of this plague.

Ben Tillett of London has been endorsed by the executive committee of the Labor Party as one of the candidates who may be selected by a suitable constituency.

EDITORIAL

PETER W. COLLINS

UNION MEN IN CONGRESS. It is indeed gratifying to note that in the new Congress there are fifteen Trade Unionists representing various Congressional Districts and it is pleasing to further note that four of these have been assigned to membership on the Committee of Labor, one of the most important committees of the Congress.

The chairman of this committee also being a Union man,—Congressman Wilson of Pennsylvania, past International Secretary of the United Mine Workers.

The work which these men can do for real legislation in behalf of the Workers will be invaluable and there is no doubt but that by their influence as members of the Congress, they can aid materially the progress of Labor.

SNOBBERY. The recent event at the Annapolis naval academy emphasizes the snobbery inherent in a large number of Americans and particularly those in the military and naval service of the government.

In this case we have seen how a young American girl of splendid character was ostracized at a social event at Annapolis because she was a working girl. The gold lace Willies dontcherknow simply couldn't stand for it, bah jove.

Congressman Korbly of Indianapolis took the matter up with Secretary Meyer of the navy department, and Meyer, dontcherknow, said there was a "misunderstanding of the young lady's status." Rawther a deuced horrid mistake and Meyer said the Duke in charge of Annapolis would send an apology to the young lady. But Korbly wasn't satisfied and wanted to know why there could be any "misunderstanding of status" in a republic, so the case still lingers while the charming Lords at Annapolis are provoked at the publicity of the thing.

As the government furnishes the rations for these pin heads with the social bug it became very ludicrous to note their distinction as to "status."

What is really needed at Annapolis is sound instruction on the qualities of manhood and less social functions and pink teas.

WORKINGMEN'S COMPENSATION. Many of the States of the Union are becoming interested in Workmen's Compensation laws, and just and needful liability of legislation.

The necessity for this legislation has been manifest for a great number of years and the unjust interpretation of the Courts placing the burden and dangers of industry on the Worker instead of the industry itself has been a tremendous burden on the toiler.

Many disinterested men outside of the ranks of labor have realized within the last few years the crying need for a character of remedial legislation in this direction and we find these men co-operating with the representatives of Organized Labor throughout the country to the end that such measures will be enacted into law.

This is indeed a pleasing sign of the times for it demonstrates that there is an awakening of the public conscience to the unjust burdens which Workers have had to bear, and it will no doubt, be the means of making of better laws.

We herewith attach comment from *The Outlook* relative to Workmen's Compensation:

Must workingmen, and workingwomen also, bear the full weight of accidents that are incident to industry? Is there no way by which in free America the cost of such accidents may be made a part of the cost of the industry itself? These questions have become particularly acute since the New York Court of Appeals, in its recent decision, destroyed the law adopted in New York which offered a sensible way of relief. The New Jersey legislature has answered these questions by enacting a measure known as the Edge bill. This measure has been signed by Governor Wilson, and is now one of the statutes of the state. In order to understand it, one must first distinguish between what is known as "employers' liability" and what is known as "workmen's compensation." Under a system of "employers' liability" an injured workman may bring suit against his employer for recovery of damages. Ordinarily he must show that in some way, either directly or by necessary inference, the employer was negligent; and the employer, according to the usual rules that have come down from the past, can avoid paying damages if he can show that the accident was due to one of the workman's fellow-employees, or arose from the risks inherent in the occupation; and it has been held that the employer is not liable even when he has failed to provide reasonable safeguards if the workman continued to do his work with the knowledge that the safeguards were lacking? After such a case is tried, it is left to the jury to decide whether the employer is liable for damages, and, if so, how large the damages shall be. The consequence of this system is that the workman or his family is forced to risk the cost of a long and perhaps futile lawsuit at the very time when even the ordinary burdens of life have by the accident been made heavier, and that the employer has no means of knowing from the nature of the accident how great the damages are going to be, and no way of estimating from year to year the probable cost of accidents. As a result, almost all large employers turn this whole matter over to an accident insurance company, against whose resources the ordinary workman has little chance. In contrast to this system is the system of workmen's compensation, according to which every injury arising in the regular course of an occupation, except through the wilful act or culpable negligence of the workman himself, results in an automatic compensation to the injured man according to a regular schedule—so that each form of disability has its corresponding form of compensation. Of course, if

there is any question as to fact, it is brought up by a suit at law; but such suits are necessarily rare. By this means the employer pays for the costs of accidents to workmen just as he pays for accidents that injure his machinery, and he charges such accidents to the cost of production. The New York Court of Appeals has declared that a law that substitutes a system of compensation for a system of liability is unconstitutional, on the ground that it is taking property without due process of law. The New Jersey statute avoids this objection by making the system of compensation optional; but it so arranged matters that the employer will find it very disadvantageous to choose anything else. It does this, first, by greatly enhancing the burdens of liability for damages; and, second, by providing that unless in his contract with his workmen he expressly states that the liability system is to apply, it is to be presumed that both workman and employer accept the principle of automatic compensation. The fact that the Supreme Court of New Jersey has recently sustained the constitutionality of the former liability law, which abolished certain of the immunities formerly enjoyed by employers, indicates that the New Jersey court is more willing to trust legislative discretion than the Court of Appeals in New York. At any rate, the New Jersey law is an interesting and important attempt to secure the relief that the Court of Appeals in New York denied the people of New York."

ORGANIZATION OF POSTAL EMPLOYEES. It ought to be of much interest to the American people to note the un-American and un-democratic attitude taken by the Postoffice Department in relation to the Organization of the Railway Mail Clerks who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The attitude taken by Postmaster General Hitchcock and Second Assistant Postmaster General Stewart in denying to these American citizens, who are incidentally employees of the government in the postal service, the right to organize, is indeed, a most surprising one, and we note that their position is sustained by President Taft in a recent public address.

Senator Lafollette of Wisconsin is deserving of great credit in showing up the position of the postal authorities and of the administration in denying to these men their rights as American citizens and the ridiculous argument made by Assistant Postmaster General Stewart to a committee of Congress as shown up by a recent editorial in the Boston Globe as follows:

To say that Joseph Stewart, second assistant postmaster general, was disingenuous in trying to make it appear that the union of the railway postal clerks is a secret organization is to put it mildly. Mr. Stewart certainly knows that the railway mail clerks' union is not a secret body, and that it is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one of whose fundamental rules regarding government employes is that they must obey the rules of their department despite what they may think of the justice of such rules. In joining a union the postal employes take no "secret oath" or obligation, and Mr. Stewart is guilty of lack of candor at least in saying

that " it is incompatible with the postal clerks' obligation to the department that they should assume another oath with a secret organization in the service which may at any time interfere with the obligations which they have assumed upon entering the service."

It is a short-sighted policy. It will not result in getting the best men for the service or in improving the service. Postal employes, being American citizens, will hardly submit to it.

HOSTILE EMPLOYERS, SEE YOURSELVES AS OTHERS KNOW YOU

By Samuel Gompers, in *American Federationist*

(Continued from April Issue.)

As to fire-escapes and stairways, the following is from one of the articles in the Times on the fire:

"This is just the calamity I have been predicting," said Chief Croker. "There were no outside escapes on this building. I have been advocating and agitating that more fire-escapes be put on factory buildings similar to this. The large loss of life is due to this neglect."

"He said that there was only one fire-escape from the building. An old-time perpendicular affair, he said, leading to the courtyard in the center of the block of buildings, which would only allow of one person's escape at a time. When he examined this escape, he found on the upper floors that it had become very loose, and it was a dangerous matter to escape by that route.

"A repetition of this disaster is likely to happen at any time in similar buildings," he said. He advocated balcony fire-escapes with a wide iron staircase. The staircases in the building, the Chief said, were of the ordinary three feet six inches wide type.

The lesson of the fire is that a building is just as fireproof as the stuff within it—fireproof walls, fireproof floors, and fireproof stairways—then rooms packed with flimsy cloth and trimmings and run by electric dynamos about which waste and oil were allowed to accumulate."

The last point here mentioned by the Fire Chief gives probable contradiction to the suggestion, snatched at by the clothing manufacturers and their defenders, that the fire was started from a lighted cigarette.

The most significant fact to trade unionists that Fire Chief Croker made in this interview, as quoted by the Times, was:

"He spoke bitterly of the way in which the Manufacturers' Association had called a meeting in Wall street to take measures against his proposal for enforcing better methods of protection for employes in cases of fire."

In an editorial, the Times said:

"Crowded workrooms in such a condition that a slight outbreak of fire can convert them into furnaces within a few minutes should not be tolerated in this city. No new laws are needed. Enforcement of existing laws is imperative."

Why are not existing laws enforced? There is but one reason: Clothing manufacturers either bribe crooked office-holders or take advantage of inadequate inspection.

The New York Times (March 30) had the following as a recommendation of the Commission on Congestion of Population, with comment thereon:

"That 500 cubic feet of air space be provided for every employe of any factory instead of 250 cubic feet of air space as at present, and not less than 600 cubic feet of air space for every employe when employed between the hours of 6 in the evening and 6 in the morning, under the provisions of the present labor law."

"It was predicted that a report about to be made would show that the employes of the flame swept factory in Washington Place were working with only 125 cubic feet of air space."

It might be thought that the Triangle Company should have learned a bitter lesson from the fire which killed so many of its employes, and that in all its future acts relative to its workshop it would proceed in a chastened and law-abiding manner. But, instead, its very first steps to resume work were characterized by its habitual brazen lawlessness and indifference to human life. On these points we again quote from the Times (April 1), as being in this respect sufficiently cautious authority, surely with no working-class prejudices:

"The Triangle Waist Company attempted to open up for business in a new location yesterday, and this time it found Building Department Inspectors quickly upon its trial. Instead of being

allowed to put operatives to work it was confronted with a violation notice from the Building Bureau, setting forth that the new place is non-fireproof, and that the tiers of sewing machines have been so arranged by the company that access to the fire-escapes is cut off.

"The company's new factory is at 5, 7 and 9 University Place, and it occupies the entire top floor of a six-story building owned by the Sailors' Snug Harbor Corporation. The violation notice was directed to this corporation and was made after complaint had been filed against the Triangle Company from sources not made known.

"The Triangle management has arranged twenty-one machines to a row, there being four rows on the floor with aisle space sufficient for two girls to sit back to back between each line. The girls when seated would have no space in which to move about or leave their places without all getting up together.

"There is one small passenger and one freight elevator in the building, while the staircase is dark and narrow and built with many steep and sharp turns."

At a mass meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House, Sunday evening, April 2, Dr. Moskowitz reported that in 1,200 factories, the facts as to which had been verified by his board, these conditions were found:

Factories without fire-escapes, 14; factories with defectively placed ladders, 63; with no other exits than fire-escapes, 491; with doors opening in, 1,173; with doors locked during the day, 23; with halls less than 36 inches wide, 60; with stairways dark, 58; with defective steps, treads, and handrails, 51; with obstructed fire-escapes, 78; having fire drills, 1.

As to New York factory conditions with regard to fire, here is the evidence given by Dr. Henry Moskowitz:

"The Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the cloak, suit and skirt industry has laid bare a condition of affairs in New York that is positively terrifying. The board was created as the result of the cloakmakers' strike of last summer. It consists of William J. Schieffelin, Chairman; Lillian D. Wald of the Settlement and myself, as the three representatives of the general public; Dr. Geo. M. Price and Benjamin Schlessinger for the unions, and Max Meyer and S. L. Silver for the manufacturers. The board is empowered to make investigations of all cloak and suit factories in the city.

"We have eight inspectors and have investigated 1,243 factories. The official report has been made out and will soon be submitted. But the horrible disaster of yesterday induces us to tell in advance some of the conditions we have found, in the hope they will be remedied. We have sent a list of

seventy-three factories absolutely inadequate in fire protection to Mayor Gaynor and the heads of the Building, Fire and Police Departments. We have informed the unions that the employes in some of these shops work under conditions that threaten life in case of fire."

Observe Dr. Moskowitz's reliance upon the trade unions. Every union in the clothing trade is continually doing what it can to combat the state of things in New York factories consequent upon the negligence or cupidity of employers with respect to fire or other dangers to employes. In January last the Woman's Trade Union League asked that a list of questions be printed in the New York newspapers relating to the very abuses which existed in the Triangle work-rooms — overcrowding of work-places, windows barred down, doors locked, doors opening inward, inadequate fire-escapes, insufficient staircase exits, etc.

We think that the manufacturers would have done well to employ their time in trying, with the unions, to reform the infamous working conditions in the New York clothing trade, of whatever branch, instead of regarding the union shop as a stumbling-block in the way of industrial peace. A stumbling-block it is, indeed, to such concerns as the Triangle Waist Company—the only persistent and effective stumbling-block to be found in the way of their inordinate pursuit of wealth, even with the wealth stained with human blood; aye, soaked in it. A stumbling-block the trade union certainly is, also, to that tyrannical institution in full play in the National Clothiers' Association, the black-list employers' labor bureau, designed to bar from employment the members of a trade union.

While writing this article comes the news of two more frightful mine disasters, occurring almost simultaneously. In all, 200 men dead from explosion and fire. In the Banner mine near Littleton, Ala., the lives of 123 defenseless convicts and 5 free men were on Saturday, April 8, snuffed out in a few minutes. In the Pancoast colliery near Scranton, Pa., 74 miners were on the day before burned to death. Were these dreadful occurrences accidents? Vice-President John Mitchell, of the American Federation of Labor, expressing his sorrow at hearing of them, said: "It seems to me that both disasters could have been averted. The laws for the protection of the workingman are not fully enforced until such disasters occur." Dr. Chas. P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, speaking of the necessity for legal compensation for death or injury by accidents, said:

"This is the only country in the world where an appeal for help has to be made

following an industrial disaster. All countries where there is industrial advancement such as we enjoy have the necessary machinery to provide for the victims without an appeal to charity. The fund of \$80,000 raised for the relatives of the recent factory fire in New York, while it does credit to the charitable inclination of the citizens of New York, is an indictment of the maladjustment of our social system."

In these two accidents we have repeated the story of employing class criminology in the mining industry. Three years ago 125 miners were sent down into the earth to their death at Marianna, Pa.; two years ago, 300 at Cherry, Ill.; last year, 185 at Palos, Ala. Suppose that the law required at least three high company officials always to be down in a mine where work was going on, would the mines not quickly be made safer than they are? Suppose that three such officials—President, Vice-President, General Manager—were to be killed with the miners on the occurrence of these so-called accidents, how long would it be until there was a comprehensive law, with big damages for the officials' widows? Yet our country is a democracy!

We take occasion, in the light of the facts we have cited, and others to follow, to say emphatically that we will not dilly-dally with employers bent on forever putting trade unionism in the crucible and refinding from it every element the least objectionable to them, while themselves trying to ignore their own questionable practices, ranging from simply those unfair on downward through every step to the worst—practices avaricious, felonious, barbarous, murderous—as exposed in recent events, whether in famine strikes like those of Chicago or in wholesale murder like that in New York. Some of their spokesmen would argue the union shop out of existence as detrimental to industrial peace. This, when the fact is that when clothing manufacturers get their employees completely at their mercy in the "open shop" they force them to submit to every manner of neglect, indignity, and slave-driving, and then on occasions burn them alive.

While we are at the task we may as well recite some irrefragable testimony, of recent development, to show that it is the employing class that today in America is on trial before the world for theft, disloyalty, and inhumanity—that a considerable part of it has degenerated to a stage of many-phased crookedness, in comparison with which union labor stands upright and honorable, despite all the sinister agencies hired to blacken its reputation.

Too long, in dealing with the trade unions, has there an assumption by employers, wholly unfounded, that their class represents law and order, responsibility and high standing, the distinction of individual merit and the authority of superior class integrity. Too often what they really stand for is no more than colossal and unblushing gall, unscrupulous and insatiable greed.

We want to assure trade unionists and their sympathizers that—taking into consideration that no human institution can be perfect—the trade union representatives when facing employers have no good reason to be ashamed of their class or their cause. The trade union is right—if not all right to the last dot and particle, as near right as any other human institution, and doing a hundredfold the good of most others. One source of our weakness is that too often we forget the employers who dread and hate our unions never falter in finding them in the wrong, whether the testimony against them be false or true, and also that we hesitate to hit back when employers and their paid agents are blackening our leaders or depreciating our organization. What here follows regarding employers is but a sketch of a mass of truths that can be produced. Let union men take full cue from it all, and prepare themselves in their own occupations for the occasions when the Harrises and Blancks are indulging in virtuous self-praise, coupled with denunciations of the trade union that seeks to protect their employes from discrimination or exploitation, fraud or fire.

If one of the Triangle girls had been caught filching a ten-cent bit of shirt-waist material, she would have been liable to arrest and sentence to a term in prison. But *La Follette's* weekly recently contained a series of illustrations showing how the "all-wool," "all-silk," and "all-linen" materials worked up by clothing and other manufacturers washed out to rags and tatters in the acids that separate wool, silk, and linen from their adulterants. In a piece of "all-wool" dress material there was 34 per cent of cotton; in a sample of "silk," 71 per cent of mineral matter; in a "linen" towel, only a few bare linen threads and all the rest cotton. Said *La Follette's*: "Fabrics of this kind are not exceptional; they are for sale everywhere, and in largest quantities among the poor." Facts that the united clothing manufacturers would fain forget when prating to union men about dishonesty of "restriction of output!"

The New York Times inserted this letter from a reader, August 11, 1910:

"My experience with merchant tailors as to their truthfulness has been so provoking as to lead me to wonder how

small or large a percentage of tailors can be relied upon in their promises."

Trade unionists unreliable, forsooth! The following is from a *Times* editorial:

"Silks' made of cellulose with adulterants of sugar, molasses, glucose, caustic soda, and tin salts, are not good fabrics, therefore their sale as silks is rather a worse cheat than the sale of the specially treated cotton goods. . . . Then there are imitation ginghams; cotton treated with magnesia and marked 'pure linen'; linens made of shoddy fibre; veneered linens the preparation of which makes heavy draughts upon the world's trade in rags and fabrics of every description marked as of sterling quality which, tested, would land their makers in jail if subjected to the law that applies to the makers of sterling silver. An article by Mary and Lewis Theiss in *Pearson's Magazine* for March tells us all about adulterated clothing."

There are trade union men in the employ of the sugar magnates of this country. Would it be becoming in the greatest of these magnates, in these days of their shame and degradation, to undertake to pluck the mote out of the eye of trade unionism? Let us see for a moment. From a San Francisco press dispatch, December 30, 1910:

"A preliminary investigation has furnished evidence which leads Treasury officials to believe the frauds at San Francisco will eclipse those at New York. One official of the Treasury Department said today: 'The troubles of the sugar importers have only begun. The discoveries of the frauds have only started.'"

From New York newspapers, March 30, 1911, when recording the fact that the city, by decision of a referee filed with the Supreme Court, might proceed to collect \$526,000 back water rents from the American Sugar Refining Company:

"The city's suit for the back payments arose from the discovery that the company had been systematically using cut-offs which brought large quantities of water into its refineries unmetered. The company sought an injunction to prevent the attempts to collect for the water thus obtained and to prevent the city cutting off its supply until it had paid."

The use of a water or a gas "cut-off," by the ordinary citizen, is a State prison crime. A "cut-off" is a pipe which taps the street main, or the pipe connection with the street main, at a point on the street-side of the customer's meter and permitting the use of water (or gas) unmetered. The American Sugar Refining Company thus stole water, by sneak-thief methods, so the court decides, to the amount of \$526,000! And if one of its employes, say a member of his union's labor day committee, were to be caught carry-

ing away half a pound of brown sugar, the public would see in employing class dailies: "Another union official indicted for theft!"

No words could be too violent to describe the dishonor of the American Sugar Refining Company in its career of deliberate robbery of the people of this country extending over a period of at least thirty years. The story has often been told, but we deem the occasion fitting for its reproduction here. We condense from the *Outlook*, August 6, 1910:

The trust was convicted of the frauds, subjected to a penalty of \$130,000, and compelled to make restitution of over \$2,000,000 which it had filched from the Government * * *.

The American Sugar Refining Company—alias in common parlance the Sugar Trust—owns at Williamsburg, in Brooklyn, the largest sugar refinery in the world. At its extensive docks are landed yearly more than a billion pounds of raw sugar brought from the ends of the earth. As the sugar is landed it is weighed, for the computation of the duties, on big platform scales—17 in number—whose recording beams are inclosed in narrow scale-houses, spaced at regular intervals along the docks. In each scale-house sat two men, a custom-house employe known as the government weigher and a sugar company employe known as the company checker. The former did the weighing—adjusting, as each truck-load or draft of three bags was run upon the platform, the poise on the scale-beam, reading off the weight, and recording it in his book. The latter was supposed to watch the work of the weigher and to record the weight of each draft in a book of his own. The weigher sat just inside the door of the scale-house, the company checker in the far corner, his left side close against the wall. On a day in November, 1907—the 20th, in fact—Richard Parr strolled on to the Williamsburg docks. Parr was a special employe of the custom-house who had some time before run across certain signs that seemed to him to point to extensive frauds in the weighing of sugar. * * * Meanwhile the company checker, a man named Kehoe, sat in his chair, his left elbow on his knee, his left hand out of sight in the corner, and a flag of distress flying in his face. Parr ordered him to get up, sat down in his place, reached down in the corner, and found the curled up end of a narrow steel spring, which worked loosely in a hole in the stanchion of the scale. * * * The inner end of the spring rested upon one end of the walking-beam of the scale, and pressed it down with such force that it made a truck-load of sugar apparently weigh from ten to twenty pounds less than its real weight. The

spring was manipulated by the company checker so that it would press upon the walking-beam when a truck was on the platform, and would be withdrawn when the platform was empty, in order that the effect of the pressure might not be apparent when nothing was being weighed. * * * What a potent little piece of wire! Working quietly and unobtrusively in its little dark corner, it robbed the Government of the duty on from ten to twenty pounds of sugar every time a truck-load of three bags was put upon the scale platform. * * * In the stanchion of every one of the seventeen scales on the docks was a hole like that in which the spring was discovered. So there was the title for the case ready to hand—"The Case of the Seventeen Holes." * * *

The first case to be tried was against the company itself. In the course of it the Government showed, from the company's own books and from the books of those who sold it the raw sugar, that year after year, on cargo after cargo, the company paid for thousands of pounds more sugar than it was paying duty on. One of two inferences was inevitable. Either the company was systematically cheating itself to the extent of millions of dollars a year by paying for sugar which it never received, or it was systematically cheating the Government to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars a year by not paying duty on sugar which it did receive. * * * The result of the second trial was the conviction of Spitzer and the four checkers and their sentencing to the penitentiary for from one to two years. The next step was the quest of the men "higher up," and indictments against Charles R. Heike, the secretary of the Sugar Trust and the confidential man of H. O. Havemeyer, the trust's head, and Ernest Gerbracht, the superintendent of the Williamsburg refinery, were promptly found.

The connecting link between the docks and the refinery was quickly perceived by the Government attorneys to be in the figures representing the weight of the sugar. The same was true of the link between the docks where the frauds were actually committed, and the head office of the trust, across the river in Wall street. On each cargo of dutiable sugar there were two sets of weights, the one the true weights, in accordance with which the sugar was paid for, the other the false weights, in accordance with which the duties on the sugar were computed. If any responsible official in the refinery, and still more in the trust office, had criminal knowledge of and criminal complicity in the frauds, the evidence of such knowledge and complicity must be sought in his relation to those two sets of figures.

* * * Early in the third trial, Oliver Spitzer, the dock superintendent who had been already convicted and was safe in the penitentiary in Atlanta, appeared in the courtroom with a pardon from the President and a full confession of his share in the frauds. It was natural that the thought should spring to every one's mind: Now we shall hear all about it, now we shall know who ordered the frauds and was ultimately responsible for them. But his story, which disappointed this expectation, was even more natural under the circumstances. He found fraudulent methods in use when he came to the docks about thirty years ago. He accepted them as a matter of course, improved upon them from time to time, and kept them up without direct orders because that was evidently what was expected from the man in his position. But two or three times a year, he testified, his superior officer, Gerbracht, would rush into his office, fling at him the warning, "You're being robbed, You're being robbed. You're being robbed," and dash out again without listening to any inquiry or explanation or protest. Then, testified Spitzer, he would go out and tell the checkers in the scale-houses to manipulate the springs so as to get more weight for the company * * *.

So figures and letters showed the way to the "men higher up." There were other bits of evidence that told against Heike—a set of tables, first originated by Mr. Havemeyer, then extended and supplemented by Heike, the only conceivable use of which would be in showing the difference between the true weights and the false on all kinds of cargoes * * *.

The jury said guilty, though on the last count of the indictment only, influenced a little to leniency, we may surmise, by age and white hair and blameless private life. * * * The play has seen the great trust unmasked of its petty villainy, brought to its knees at the bar of justice, and compelled to disgorge two millions of its ill-gotten gains. It has seen the lesser tools of the villainy convicted and punished, and in this last act two men of prominent position and high responsibility brought to book as leading actors in the conspiracy * * *.

If a union retail clerk should be caught by his employer pilfering a can of condensed milk or a cotton necktie, value 10 cents, he would be sent to prison. What about the criminal methods on a Napoleonic scale of New York wholesale dealers shown up in the course of the raids on them during the last year, principally instituted by the commissioner of weights and measures? We have volumes of clippings from New York papers on this subject. Here are some

of the findings of the commissioner and his assistants:

In the wholesale grocery district, the "trade custom" of selling 140 pounds of potatoes to the barrel instead of the legal 174 pounds. In the milk shifting centers, a quart or more short to each five gallon can, due to dents in the cans. In the ice trade, scales furnished ice wagon drivers by the ice trust that could register twenty-two pounds as thirty. In the jewelry trade, "eighteen-karat" gold which proved to be only five to five and one-half karats, and in silver articles conditions even worse, through false markings are a misdemeanor. The rubber manufacturers were summoned before the city officials to show why rubber receptacles were not stamped with their true capacity. Scale manufacturers had devised scales to let dishonest grocers and butchers sell meats at short weight, one device being a scale-face which began to register at a pound instead of zero, and another a heavy transparent parchment paper to spread on scales, to be weighed again and again with and as meat. "Hence," said the scale-makers' circular to merchants, "you sell paper at the price of meat." The ham and bacon "packers," that is, wholesalers, after being exposed in their peculiar "trade customs," wrote to the commissioner that "Never again in New York City would they charge for burlap at the price of ham, nor label a ham as weighing more than the figure at which it actually tipped the scales." The product of a packer had in a certain instance weighed twenty-six ounces short of the figure called for, and he and his fellow-packers had been selling the burlap wrappers of hams at 30 cents a pound. Representatives of the biggest firms of ice dealers in New York waited on the commissioner at his office to tell him that "It is impossible to weigh out ice as it is sold," whereas the law says, "No person shall sell or offer for sale ice in any manner other than weight." The commissioner told these representatives that he himself had weighed some of their 300 pound cakes on delivery, to find that they really weighed only 275 or 280. All these statements relate to the "trade customs" of manufacturers and wholesalers.

It is true, also, the commissioner threw into the sea in one trip retailers' false scales that together weighed more than a ton, and in one day alone sixty-two violators of the law against short weights and the use of fraudulent scales were haled before the Chief of the Bureau, all being arrested in a single district of the city. How certain newspapers played up and pictured the petty frauds of the small grocers and push-cart men, who do not advertise, and let the big malefactors

go with bare mention! But in an address before the Brooklyn Central Labor Union the commissioner himself said:

"I say to you that the mercantile life of New York City is diseased, and some of the very men who stand upon the public forum at election time denouncing men in public life could not stand the searchlight of exposure if it should be turned upon them. Some of the so-called reputable merchants who would be first to denounce labor could not stand a searching inquiry into their methods. The corporations want immunity from the laws, and they hold out to the public officer temptation in the form of bribe money, and if the public officer is weak he accepts the bribe, and I ask you men who is responsible for the dishonesty?"

"As compared with the bribe money of corporations the money that is stolen directly from the treasury is not a drop in the bucket. *I say to you that the dishonesty of peddlers and small grocers is nothing compared to the dishonesty of the corporations.*

"Who is it for the last ten years has fought down legislation meant for the consumer's protection? Who has fought against the net weight law which is absolutely necessary? Gentlemen, I ask and seek the co-operation of the Journeymen Butchers' Union in my effort to prevent the dishonest butcher from pulling the scale, and I call upon the Retail Grocery Clerks' Union to prevent short-weighing in the grocery stores."

These views received confirmation in a sermon by the Rev. Frederick Lynch, Pilgrim Congregational Church, Madison avenue, New York. He declared he had ample authority for saying that graft runs through the business system of New York from top to bottom.

"It even extends to the undertakers. I had been in New York hardly a month as a pastor when an undertaker came to me and offered me a 'rake-off on every funeral I would get him.' Of course they go to the sextons as well. With every yacht fitted out in New York City the Captain gets handsome presents of clothes and other things. Every investigation in New York has disclosed graft running all through the system, contractors getting contracts by graft, charging the city double prices, buying city employes all along the line."

The journeymen bakers of New York, to our knowledge, have been necessarily in a condition of strike for the last thirty years. They stubbornly refuse to accept their bosses' "open shop," with the "industrial peace" which it brings. Here are some of the features of that form of peace: Compulsory boarding in rooms connected with the bakeshop; working unrestricted hours; wages, dollars under

the union scale; gloomy cellar bakeries, which at times are the men's sleeping rooms, connected with their closets; terrific heat and inadequate ventilation. All this, and more, while the journeymen bakers see their bosses violating the law constantly in such ways as these: Selling loaves of two sizes at one price, dependent on the ignorance of "trade customs" on the part of the customer; using in pies and cakes eggs which to the trade are known as "rots" and spots"; neglecting to use fly screens; rarely providing spittoons; the only source of ventilation sidewalk cellar doors or windows into which clouds of filthy street dust are blown. The laws recently adopted forbidding these conditions were passed chiefly through the agitation of the trade unions and social workers. But it was the bosses who carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States, to be declared unconstitutional, the New York law which forbade more than ten hours' work daily in bakeshops, a law which had been held constitutional by the highest court in the State of New York.

Similarly, packing-house employees are obliged to go on strike for living wages and for the betterment of labor conditions, official descriptions of which have shocked the nation. Is this class of employees to be prohibited from having an effective union, dealing as they do with perpetrators of such widespread injury to the public health as brought upon themselves the penalties of the national meat inspection law?

Every step urged by the trade unions in employing the law to reduce the effects of occupational diseases meets either with apathy on the part of employers in general or the active opposition of those whose financial interests might be imperiled by sanitary regulation. For example, white lead is used in thirteen trades and twenty-six branches of manufacture. Says William Ludlow Cheney (*Independent*, February 9, 1911):

'What white lead does to some painters is best told by hospital records and the 'sick benefit' books of the painters' unions. Every one has heard of 'painters' colic.' To the relatively innocent 'colic' the investigation adds paralysis, loss of weight, 'a slowly increasing disease of the blood vessels' of the liver, kidneys and heart, insanity, senility, and sometimes death. . . . In Germany the Government provides that there shall be no dry rubbing of painted surfaces in inclosed rooms. In the United States the surfaces of all railroad cars and of all automobiles are rubbed by men working in air-tight rooms. The rooms are kept sealed so that the paint dust will not settle on other damp surfaces. . . . In one English white-lead factory employing

182 men careful medical inspection failed to discover one case of lead-poisoning in the year 1909-10. In an Illinois factory employing 142 men partial inspection revealed 25 men suffering from lead-poisoning last year. In another English factory employing 90 men no case was found for five successive years. In an Illinois factory employing 94 men, 28 per cent of all employes have had lead-poisoning and 40 per cent of all employed in the dustier work.

Tell us, have any non-union wage-workers ever had the slightest weight in the fight being carried on in this country to bring about the protection of the white-lead workers that Germany gives to the trades exposed to white-lead poison? No. The open-shop non-unionist, in all public work, is a social cipher. He has no organization, with sick benefit books to fall back upon; he has no legislative committee, seeking a just government supervision of health in his industry. He is the helpless victim of greedy, unscrupulous, vampire employers.

What does Dr. John B. Andrews write of the manufacture of matches?

"The manufacture of matches in the United States beyond any other industry presents an opportunity to improve conditions and easily to make a most dangerous industry entirely harmless. Peculiar to this industry is a disease which, without great expense, without a long struggle against poverty, indifference, ignorance and neglect, may be eliminated absolutely by the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus. A harmless substitute from the poison is commercially practicable and readily available. Why, then, do our manufacturers not use this substitute? Many would gladly do so, but it costs just a little more to make non-poisonous matches."

To make non-poisonous matches "costs just a little more" to the employer. To make poisonous matches costs working men and women frightful disease and a horrible death!

At the St. Louis meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, last December, a committee which had investigated mercurial poisoning in factories, reported:

"No statistics were obtainable on the subject, hospital records being either non-existent or hopelessly defective; physicians, for reasons of self-interest or professional secrecy, often being unwilling to give the information at their disposal; and the workers themselves being afraid to say much lest they offended their employers. The greatest impediment of all, however, was the reluctance of factory owners and managers to allow any inspection of health conditions in their factories."

In the hatters' trade, one investigator

had in three months compiled a record of sixty cases of mercurial poisoning in Brooklyn, Newark, and Orange factories. In all of Great Britain in twelve months only ninety-four such cases were reported. It was in these hat-making centers that the employers recently fought so stubbornly for the "open shop," the workers in which can have no effective influence over sanitary conditions.

The necessity for pure food laws is a topic much discussed in recent years throughout the nation. What class is responsible for impure food? The wage-workers? Any charge against them on this score would obviously be absurd. On the contrary, it is the wage-workers, compelled against their will at times to be helpless witnesses of the adulteration of food, or passive participants, who give notice of the fact to the health authorities. As for the latter, they are so often found "fixed" by the employers that protest to them may prove unavailing. Last spring, an investigation of the management of the New York State charities institutions showed that "the time of the Albany office was spent in determining such details as the price and brand of shoestrings, while the larger needs of the institutions, such as the weighing and analyzing of coal, the adequate inspection of beef and butter, and the proper management of farms, were neglected." The investigators concluded that the central purchasing of supplies resulted in "great loss to the State." Over 90 per cent of the butter was "below specification," and "some of it was unfit for food." The beef supplied was up to specifications in only five of the seventeen institutions examined," etc. Here the facts showed collusion between the big employing contractors and State officials. The journeyman butchers have found their employers disputatious when trade union reforms have been suggested to them.

We hear of excitement during teamster strikes, and read the sensational stories regarding them written by reporters who, "writing on space," must turn in to their news editors something startling or have their matter rejected. But the teamsters too often have lessons in law-breaking taught them by their employers. What, for instance, could be more brazen than the plea of the members of a New York firm of dealers in bottled "spring water," who, when convicted of selling water drawn from the faucets fed by pipes of the regular city aqueduct supply, stated that the Croton water being "partly spring" there was no deception in their business? What does the rigid official inspection of the milk supply in cities signify, but that the milk trusts are capable of watering and "doctoring" what is the very source of life to children?

Commissioner of Accounts Fosdick, who investigated the Food Inspection Bureaus in the Department of Health in New York, in a chemical laboratory of his own, asserted that many injurious preservatives were in use in the city; that bob veal was sold in quantities, and that many slaughter houses, particularly those dealing in chickens, were conducted in an unsanitary manner. The commissioner could not understand how some of the officials of the Health Department could have been ignorant of these things.

The Dairy and Food Bureau of the Pennsylvania State Agricultural Department discovered that a large number of delicatessen and other stores in Philadelphia had been for a long time selling "dyed" fish as a substitute for smoked fish.

Commenting on the fact that a New York newspaper had published a calculation that a loss of \$30,000,000 a year was caused in the city from short weights and measures, Charles F. Kenworthy stated that it was a practice of merchants to pay hotel stewards for the privilege of their trade. Bribery and graft here, by two sets of employers.

It takes a lot of close watching of contractors on public work to keep them from violating the eight-hour day and the prevailing rate of wages clause in their contracts. The laws defensive of the workers' rights in these respects have been passed despite contractors' opposition. In attacking the trade unions, contractors have never let up on the union shop as "an institution detrimental to industry," and to liberty, and all the principles of honesty and fair dealing, so precious to the employing class. Our volume of clippings on the subject of contractors' dishonesty is so thick and heavy that the merest mention of some of the most notorious recent cases is sufficient to indicate that when trade union representatives are called on to deal with this class of employers they are not in the least constrained to put implicit confidence in their every word. In glancing at this abbreviated list of contractors' crimes, think of how the public would be called on to be horrified if the calendar of convicted trade union officials' offenses against the law were as numerous:

In the Harrisburg Capitol frauds, four contractors and State officials were sentenced to the penitentiary, and the Attorney-General brought suit for the recovery of \$5,000,000 from the band of contractors and officials in this instance caught stealing. In the Pittsburg graft scandals contractors, supply men, and bankers had bribed sixty city Councilmen. When a year ago, L. Savage, a contractor of West Seneca, N. Y., was convicted of obtaining money from the town on

false bills, he turned State's evidence, which ended in the conviction of H. C. Leir, formerly President of the Town Board, of grand larceny. No lively magazine ever wrote up this obscure case; but suppose the parties had been members of the bridgebuilders' union? The Conger-Allds episode of last year at Albany is no longer referred to in the press, but the deplorable matter of one union delegate going wrong in New York six years ago is the stock reference in the employing class press to substantiate the charge of "union grafting." When that case, to the minutest detail, was being used in ten thousand editorial articles to shock the entire country, an Assistant District Attorney of New York announced at a dinner, attended wholly by the employing class, that he intended to send a crowd of "labor leaders" to Sing Sing. Three years afterward, at the close of a dragnet crusade against union officials, the records, as quoted by the District Attorney himself, showed only three convictions of union officials, and in two of the three the sentences were never carried out. In going back six years one's mind recurs to the insurance scandals of about that period! Enough is suggested on that point in a single sentence. The fire at the Capitol at Albany a few weeks ago brought to memory the fact that the building, planned to be built for \$4,000,000, ran up to a cost of \$25,000,000. It was a perennial contractors' job for twenty-five years. To read the charges of graft connected with it would require hours; to hear an old employe in the building describe the papier-mâché ceilings supposed to be oak, the six-inch flues to immense chimneys that could never be made to draw, the bogus cheap wood panels which the specifications made mahogany, were enough to bring the serious citizen to grief and the cynical to laughter.

The employers with whom the members of the Typographical Union are brought in contact in their true agreements—or in their strikes, for example, to maintain the eight-hour day—are a body of men of fine intelligence and business honor. Yet among them are exceptions sufficient in number to oblige union printer committee-men to be on the alert to see that none of their employers may find loopholes in trade contracts by which agreements may be voided. A year ago a former State Printer of Ohio was convicted of graft charges. In Ottawa, Canada, the Superintendent of Stationery in the Government Printing Bureau for twenty years disappeared last summer, following charges that he had taken graft in the purchase of supplies to the possible amount of \$1,000,000. In New York, an investigation of the City Record disclosed the fact that approximately \$400,000 a year could be

saved by lopping off "waste." It was shown otherwise that no less than eighty publications "without standing or circulation," had been mainly or wholly supported from the municipal advertising, nearly \$5,000,000 having been distributed in this way in six years. The mayor wrote a letter to the corporation counsel saying that election advertising on one occasion had cost ten times what should, namely, \$40,000, instead of \$4,000. Suppose New York Typographical, or any one of its officials, had been caught running one of those sixty dummy newspapers, fat with municipal advertising! But only employers ran them. The Literary Digest of March 25, in an article under the heading "Is Graft Strangling Religion?" quotes an editorial writer in the Christian Work and Evangelist as saying that young men "find it difficult to practice their Christian principles in the environment in which they find themselves in shop and office." "A school superintendent told us that a certain textbook publishing house had made him very flattering approaches of friendship when it came time to get new text-books introduced. Some houses have that reputation." "It (grafting) knocks at the doors of religious journals. It sometimes says we will advertise with you if you praise our goods—and the goods do not always deserve praise."

How many dreary pages of matter the daily press has given its readers during the last year relative to the crookedness of public officials! A New York state engineer charged with raising a bid \$9,000, of which he took \$8,000; the mayor of Lawrence, Mass., found guilty of conspiring to procure the removal of the fire chief by bribery; three county supervisors and road superintendents in Schenectady convicted of grand larceny, two fined \$1,000 and one \$500; one of the Pittsburg councilmen sentenced to prison for eight months for being caught selling his vote twice; a nest of grafters, high officials of Queensborough, Greater New York, exposed, resignations and indictments ensuing; the New York Newsdealers' Protective Association at a public meeting in protest against the aldermen who overcharged members for their licenses; an ex-governor of New Jersey up again for an office charging that Federal politicians were "trying to buy" his own county from him. On a national scale we have the scandal of the ship-subsidy lobby of last April, recalling the opposition of shipbuilders to the union eight-hour bills; the congressional investigation of last August into Indian affairs which showed that "contingent fees" aggregating \$5,000,000 had been paid by the Indians of Oklahoma to get payment for their claims against the

Government; the indictment of the Bath-tub Trust's officials in December, when it was said the attorney general would insist on a jail sentence if they were convicted.

In the last named case a feature arose well worthy of notice here:

"But Mr. Wickersham learned a bitter lesson from the flagrant and defiant conduct of the members of the Window Glass Trust in openly assessing the fines paid by them upon their employes. He regards this as an act of refined cruelty, and one that shows how defiant of the rights of individuals trusts can be. He is convinced that nothing short of actual personal physical punishment can ever be relied on to make the law a terror to evil-doers."

When we come to look over the employing class smugglers caught in the act during the last year, we have a beautiful showing of disreputableness masquerading as the cream of respectability. The two Duveens last month, in their notorious case, on paying their fines of \$10,000 each, when pleading guilty in court to conspiracy to defraud the United States Government, offered to pay \$1,200,000 in settlement of the civil litigation against them. The well known ex-governor of one of the New England states and his wife and son were arrested in June last and fined \$5,500 for bringing to this country dutiable goods as baggage and "failing" to declare them. A stiff high protection manufacturer of an up-river New York town paid a small fortune in fines for jewelry his wife brought in concealed in her hat. The public has become accustomed to the stories of rich folks coming by the swellest steamers being examined by the custom house officials with undeclared dutiable goods found hidden almost in their very ears. A fashionable hotelkeeper forgot he had \$850 worth of dutiable goods in one trunk, a mere bagatelle. An attorney recently made an offer to the customs officials of \$100,000 to stop an investigation in a certain case of the habit of steamship companies in handling "sleeper trunks," a system by which the trunks of imaginary passengers, or passengers long since arrived, are put on the piers from a vessel, perhaps after dark, and taken away without permits. In the case of five such trunks coming by two steamers of one line, the New York collector brought suit to compel the company to pay \$5,000. When last fall the same collector decided to hold up for correction all dry goods falsely marked as to sizes or quality, more than a million dollars' worth piled up in a few days. "In explanation of so extensive a fraud," said one of the conservative New York papers, "importers say the custom began years

ago." Max Rubel, president of a cloak firm, and Louis J. Finkelstein, secretary, after pleading guilty, were fined by Judge Holt \$3,600 each for undervaluation of goods imported from France. The United States attorney, in prosecuting them, said that the firm's fraud had been of six years' duration. In the hat trade the seizure of Panama hats, after Collector Loeb's methods of detection were put into force, were so great as to bring the sales to a shortage for the season! Bad, these cases, for the reputation of employers in the New York clothing trade.

The increasing attacks on the railroad employes' trade unions by the railroad employing class might be regarded as arising from a defensible motive if railroad financiers and managers were able to stand before the world as usually seeking to be a step in advance in protecting both the public and their employes in their rights. But any examination of the reforms instituted in the operation of railroads, especially in the last five years, must show on the contrary that legislative acts carrying out the principal reforms have been opposed by the companies. It has taken many years, for example, to introduce safety couplings, and the spirit of opposition shown by the railroad managers in that one move is illustrative of their settled policy of obstruction wherever the employes have recourse either to the law or to their unions for their own protection. The butchery of railroad employes and others on American roads is on a scale of bloodshed only equaled in the Chicago and steel trust slaughterhouses. After the decades of agitation over this question, the first quarter of 1910 showed 446 more persons killed and 6,110 hurt than in the similar period of 1909. Suits against railroad companies for violations of the hours of service act of 1908 could seldom or never be begun were it not for union activity. We note one suit in Pittsburg, a few months ago, charging the Baltimore & Ohio road with requiring certain of its employes engaged in moving interstate traffic to remain on duty for a period longer than sixteen consecutive hours, the employes again going on duty without having remained away from their work ten consecutive hours. On the biggest lines the pension systems are transparently designed to weaken the unions and to forestall the possibilities of protests or strikes. The reinstatement of men over 45 years of age who have been dropped for any reason, or themselves have suspended work, is not expected by railroad employes.

The dual attitude of railroad companies toward their employes and toward the laws relating to employes was thus described by Daniel L. Cease, editor of the

Railway Trainmen's Magazine, at the meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation in St. Louis, December, 1910:

"I will quote a paragraph from an official railroad bulletin of the 'protection to the employe' kind; and then I will quote from a letter issued by a superintendent to his employees. I quote from the bulletin:

"Employes, before they attempt to make couplings or to uncouple, will examine and see that the cars or engines to be uncoupled or coupled, couplers, drawheads, and other appliances connected therewith, ties, rails, tracks, and roadbed, are in good, safe condition. They must exercise great care in coupling and uncoupling cars. In all cases sufficient time must be taken to avoid accident or personal injury."

"This rule is for the legal defense of the company. Now note the rule for the men:

"Entirely too much time is being lost, especially on local trains, due to train and engine men not taking advantage of conditions in order to gain time doing work, switching, and unloading and loading freight. Neither must you wait until train stops to get men in position. It is also of the utmost importance that enginemen be alive, prompt to take signals, and make quick signals. In this respect it is only necessary to call your attention to the old adage, which is a true one, that when train or engine men do not make good on local trains, it thoroughly demonstrates those men are detrimental to the service as well as to their own personal interests, and such men, instead of being assigned to other runs, should be dispensed with."

After such a two-faced course in a matter concerning the lives of their employes, what can the railroad managers concerned expect from their men but doubt and suspicion in regard to all other questions arising between the two classes?

Nor can the average employe be impressed so favorably with the current happenings as between the railroad financiers and managers themselves as to accept blindly whatever professions of fair dealing and liberality toward employes may come from the employers' side. What a revelation on this point came in January from James T. Harahan, retiring president of the Illinois Central Railroad, when commenting on the looting of that company's treasury by car repair frauds. He said:

"It was my deepest regret that anything should have occurred during my administration to warrant criticism of the management of the Illinois Central Railroad Company. While betrayal of any position of honor and responsibility

is much to be deplored, the particular feature of this whole matter which has caused me pain is the treachery to me of men whom I have trained and educated, some of them more than thirty years, and whom I have caused to be placed in the positions they now occupy."

Relative to these fake repairs and padded bills, Harold A. Sims, former car inspector of the Illinois Central Railroad, testified in court:

"We made it a point to do some kind of repair work on every Illinois Central car brought to us so that the inspector would report on it. Then we would doctor the bill in the office. When cars came in loaded with repair material we would make some repair on the cars themselves, such as tightening the bolts. When the inspector reported on them with his 'O. K.' we padded the bills just like the rest. I should judge the padding averaged about 40 per cent."

Such acts can not be classed as wholly exceptional. The daily press continually furnishes the public with new revelations of crookedness on the part of the management of railroads. The "Big Four" is looted by its operative financiers of an enormous sum; the Pullman company officials are charged in court with aiding in the defense of a man accused of bribing legislators to vote for a candidate for the United States senate; the former president of a big street railway company in New York states in a legislative investigation that he supposed "every one who ran for office got some traction funds." But why burden our pages with more than reference to such transactions, exposure of which the public has been taught by long experience to expect reported in the newspapers as regularly as the record of the weather changes? It is to be observed that we make mention of the crimes of railroad financiers and managers only with the purpose of showing that in their character of employers many of them are but exhibiting a hardness or dishonesty they have shown in other respects when dealing with labor. Are they to cry out in horror against what they stigmatize as the "closed shop" of their mechanics or the regulations imposed on them by the trainmen's unions as forms of tyranny and unfairness when the worst that excited strikers ever do is cast far into the shade by their own deliberate acts and settled customs? Union rules will be found uniformly for the purpose of protecting railroad employes in their lives and their standard of living.

How much of the sentiment expressed in the "conservative" press against trade unionism is manufactured in Wall street one can only learn gradually in the course of years, after noting the

secret springs whence flow many of the ideas that shallow newspaper readers unthinkingly accept as embodying sound moral and patriotic principle. How much of the policies, and consequently the legislation, both of state and nation, is originated by the interests that control Wall street is rarely suspected by the innocent mass of citizens among the general public. They commonly believe that they themselves have a decisive weight in instituting reforms, guiding the course of the laws in their making, and above all obtaining the evidence regarding the social value of national institutions such as the trade unions. But let any serious investigator sift the outcry against unionism in any one year to the bottom facts, taking at the same time the records of the Wall street side of the financial institutions of the country, and decide as to the relative morality prevailing in the unions and in the offices of millionaires and those bent on becoming millionaires. Reflect a moment on the stupendous insurance frauds, on the unparalleled New York City traction frauds, on the battle of big interests when United States senators are to be elected by legislatures. Then think of the possibilities of influencing public opinion against the unions by the Wall street interests.

Glance for a moment at some of the doings of financiers recently related in the daily press, in order to size up money-market morality: The Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Company loses millions through wheat gambling and improperly issued notes; a big Brooklyn realty company "shuffles titles" so as to occasion loss to investors; a New Jersey realty company sends out circulars showing broad macadamized streets, sidewalks, shade trees, lawns, and other improvements on its lands, whereas they are partly swamp and partly scrub oak; a real estate "job" is put up on the state of New York by which its officials arrange to buy for \$1,000,000 a tract previously offered to private parties for \$127,000; a New York "mine leasing company" sends out circulars promising 25 per cent on investments, and gets columns of exposure in the press after the managers are arrested; a partner in a Pittsburgh realty deal sues the company, claiming fraud to the amount of \$642,000; a cashier takes sixty-six one-thousand-dollar bills belonging to the Russo-Chinese bank, after "dabbling in Wall street" for a year; a Utica bank cashier is charged with embezzling \$100,000; the Merchants' Protective Association, engaged in a campaign against get-rich-quick failures, handles in one year claims in bankruptcy against such concerns aggregating nearly half a million dollars; a mining company sells more than \$1,300,000 stock for

developing purposes and spends on its mine only \$30,000; an Italian Pittsburg banker disappears with about \$100,000 of his depositors' money; an "asbestos deal" catches "the New York smart set," one woman losing \$20,000 by it and another \$35,000; the former vice president of the Bronx National Bank is sentenced to Sing Sing for forgery to the extent of \$35,000; a tailor goes into bankruptcy for the third time, liabilities \$23,000, no available assets; a wireless telegraph company is in contempt of court for refusing to produce its books; a Wall street brokerage firm is charged in court with offering a \$50,000 bribe for a check connecting a public man with a bucket-shop operation; a downtown mining stock swindler is arrested on the eve of a trip to Europe, charged with making \$1,300,000 in fraudulent deals. But why continue the list? Every one who occasionally dips into the financial pages of the metropolitan newspapers is accustomed to the stories suggested in this record of specimen cases. Our record, by the way, is made up from clippings unsystematically collected from one New York newspaper only, all dating within the last year, and most of them of covering a period of but a few months.

Here, from the same newspaper, is a brief review of the experience of an employe with one honorable business firm, which so well accords with a somewhat common experience that it merits quotation here:

"In my youth my first occupancy of a position of some responsibility was with a firm of two members, both of whom were church officers. They were insistent on absolute compliance with the rules of the establishment, and exacting in requirement of truth and honesty, stressfully holding forth on occasions in extollation of certain individuals as possessed of these merits. It was the homage that vice pays to virtue.

"Among the deviations from an honest conduct of enterprise were false affidavits as to import values and lending aid to valued Canadian buyers to defraud province customs by billing shipments at about 30 per cent less than sold at and paid for. Various efforts were made (some of which I covertly frustrated) through written contracts exacted by professional lobbyists to secure federal, state, and municipal contracts at prices far in excess of market values. The factory juvenile employment law was evaded, and once an inspector of boilers was bribed to take no cognizance of a violation.

"The purchasing agents of several railroads and industrial establishments were paid commissions on their purchases, and such gratuities were also bestowed upon

employed men of other concerns who could find the means of influencing their principals to buy of the firm, rendering gross bills for payments and on liquidation paying a difference agreed upon to the other rascals riding two horses at one time. Thus the dispensers and recipients were slaves to each other. Then some of the goods manufactured for direct distribution to inept consumers were far from being equal to the professed trade standard.

"Aside from the evils directly committed, these men set a deplorable example to the younger ones in their employ, and the measure of success in accomplishment by illicit methods may have influenced those of impulsive years and ardent ambitions to pursue the same course later in their own affairs. Both of these men have been dead many years, and the funeral eulogies of both were fulsome to a degree as to almost invite interruption, contradiction and revision."

What we are endeavoring to do in this article is to sketch the low standards with respect to uprightness, honesty, and fair treatment to employes maintained by so many among the employing class in this country today that their acts constitute a stigma on the nation. What is shown is, first, that union representatives may be pardoned if they do not accept every employer's word as 100 per cent good when not bonded, and, secondly, that the members of trade unions need not allow one-sided critics to trouble themselves too much about alleged flaws in their organizations while ignoring the prevalence of crime, sharp practice, and hypocrisy in a good part of the employing class.

But—there is to be reform! Well, when we come to the proposals of reform, we find that the wiser ones among reformers have grown accustomed to look closely at propositions by the wealthy which promise broad reforms of great help to mankind. We find the following regarding the proposed Rockefeller Foundation in the *Independent*:

"Ten years ago the men who conducted the affairs of the great life insurance companies were regarded as models of probity and public spirit. A Rockefeller Foundation incorporated then would almost certainly have had some of them among its directors. Five years ago the cover was lifted for but a little while, and what a vile mass of greed and corruption was exhibited to our startled gaze. How shamelessly men of seemingly blameless life and professedly high ideals had succumbed to the temptation involved in handling mountains of money. And these companies were legally subject to visitation and examination by forty-six insurance departments; they might at any time be compelled to show

their books and verify their assets by any one of the Insurance Commissioners of the States in which they did business."

The Rev. Robert A. Bakeman, a Baptist minister, writes in the Twentieth Century Magazine regarding "tainted" money and the well-springs of reform:

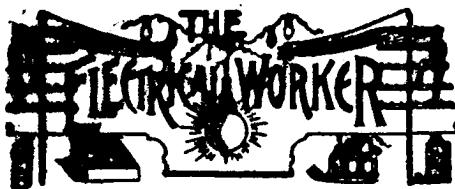
"The Congregationalists some years ago discussed the issue involved in this general question; and while almost all their papers favored the acceptance of Mr. Rockefeller's money, their columns were always open to Dr. Gladden and his allies. The (Baptist) *Watchman*, on the other hand, has consistently closed its columns to the discussion of this question, refusing to take the initiative itself, or even to publish communications from others on the subject. * * * But see where the habit of truckling to money-power has led. In its editorial columns on a certain week the *Watchman* said that the problems of capital and labor must be settled according to the Golden Rule. The next week it printed two full pages from the pen of C. W. Post of the most bitter invective against organized labor. There was not a mark to distinguish these advertising columns. But they were paid advertisements—paid to be put in as reading matter. For Mr. Post would not give his advertisements to a paper which insisted on putting the advertising mark plainly at the head of the material published. The advertising of this one man means probably more than a thousand dollars a year to this paper. This is the Golden Rule by which it would settle the problem of capital and labor, by prejudicing its constituency through ex parte reading matter in favor of those who can not afford to advertise in its columns."

Reform? What class is it that steadfastly works for reform? Reform in politics, in finance, in industry, in the protection of the working masses, union or non-union? We assert that the trade millions of wage-workers, are doing everything within their power for social reform. How as to other social elements? Which can match trade unionism?

George C. Holt, LL. D., wrote in the *Independent*, August 11, 1910:

"The great employers of labor resist any legal control. They have opposed all laws for the regulation of transportation, the restriction of monopoly, or the prohibition of contracts in restraint of trade. They go on, with fatuous folly, reorganizing and combining their insolvent companies, watering their stock, enlarging their trusts, and denouncing, on all occasions in private conversation, the wickedness of Roosevelt, of the trade unions and of the Socialists."

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THE KIDNAPPING OF McNAMARA.

(Granite Workers Journal.)

The arrest and kidnapping of Sec. McNamara of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and two other men charged with being perpetrators of the explosion, which destroyed the Los Angeles Times building, came as a shock to the labor world. The manner in which these men have been arrested and taken to California, the unlawful seizure and retention of the national union's property, deserves the severest condemnation.

The question of guilt or innocence of the crime charged is not a matter to be determined by detectives or antagonistic employers' associations, but by an impartial jury after both sides have been heard.

The methods employed in the arrest and kidnapping suggest that in the forms of law much partiality is used. A conspicuous incident is brought into view at this time, in that Governor Mount of Indiana, refused to honor a requisition of the Governor of Kentucky, to deliver William E. Taylor to the officers of the law, the latter having been indicted for the murder of Governor William Goebel. Succeeding governors of Indiana assumed the same attitude as did Governor Mount. In that case hearings were had, but these governors refused to honor the requisition.

Governor Marshall, however, honored in secret a requisition for the union official. When organized labor protested, the governor declared that should any other citizen of Indiana be demanded by another state in connection with this affair, he would be given a hearing before being released to the officers of the state demanding him. If Governor Marshall is right in the stand he latterly took, then he must be wrong in the former.

The fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States declares that "no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Scarcely a column has been printed relating to the lynching of two Italians in Tampa, Fla., by a committee composed of business men. This same business men's committee also raided the labor halls of that city, wantonly destroyed the furniture and, bandit-like, secured the cash in the money drawer and spent it among the members of the invading committee.

The Manufacturers' Association of Los Angeles and the Erectors' Association has been prominently designated as the prime movers in planning the pres-



ent sensation. The Los Angeles organization is too well known for comment. But the Erectors' Association, is alleged to be a subsidiary concern to the American Bridge Company, and the latter company is supposed to be a part of United States Steel. The American Bridge Company is the concern that, through "Deacon" Hiram Moe and Senator Conger, debauched the New York legislature to secure lucrative contracts. The confessions of the "Deacon" and Conger revealed the character of the American Bridge Company.

March 23, the terrible tragedy of the Triangle Waist Company occurred. To the idol of dollars were sacrificed 141 lives. Harris and Blanck, the manufacturers, had been informed of the danger but heeded it not. The catastrophe came, but these colonels of inhumanity were not even arrested. In their avarice for more gold another factory was opened and, upon inspection, found to be equally as bad a fire trap as their former place of business. But they are still doing business.

The accused iron workers have been charged with the crime of having destroyed the Times Building and the lives of twenty-one people. Months after the tragedy, with a grotesque and sensational setting, arrests have been made, and the columns of the press have been bulging with assertions of what is to

follow, with the intent and purpose of inflaming the public mind to the point where the reprehensible acts of detectives and their allies may be lost sight of.

No good citizen, be he a member of a labor organization or not, desires crime to go unpunished. If the men charged with this terrible catastrophe be proven guilty, then punishment should be inflicted.

To the minds of labor men experienced in the struggle for the right there is a conspiracy interminable in its ramifications, and more dangerous than is generally believed. Organized labor's sphere of influence has rapidly and potentially increased in the past decade, and in this land of dollars the captains of industry realize that the men of labor are becoming an ever increasing force, for the amelioration of all forms of abuses against humanity. With the steady advance of this humanizing influence greed and avarice must recede and more equitable relations established. Organized labor is inured to hardship, the justice of its creed in unquestionable and its courage undaunted. The men of labor protest that special innovations be inaugurated in an effort to cast odium upon it, but it is willing and ever ready to meet in the open every antagonist, with hope and faith, that justice will prevail.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE UNEMPLOYABLE

By Samuel Gompers, in American Federation

You meet on the street a man you knew years before as one in the crowd in your trade. He is woebegone. His clothes tell his story at a glance. His sad and care-worn and perhaps pale and thin face confirms the story in detail. He is out of work. He most probably avoids you, though you were always on good terms with him, so far as you had anything to do with him, in the old days. You know he shrinks from your cheerful "How are you, old man?" "How goes it?" or "Where are you now?" He hates to explain. His very appearance is a confession that he has fallen behindhand; he is averse to adding to it a verbal admission of failure. If you are moved to sympathize with him, however, and take him by the hand and try to pretend you don't see any difference in him, he may give in and talk. He knows very well the pious lie you are acting, but passes it by without mention, feeling you are actuated by a friendly spirit.

He'll tell you what's the matter with him. He was "let out" when "the firm," "the company," or "the boss"—where he worked when you knew him—introduced

new machines, or reorganized, or increased the proportion of apprentices, or of younger men or women. For the first time in years he then found himself on the street. Past the age to qualify himself without much trouble for another occupation, handicapped by the lack of adaptiveness of youth, bunched together with the others of his occupation "laid off" for various reasons, he has since been living 'twixt hope and fear, searching for work. His days of enforced idleness have stretched into weeks, the weeks into months.

What has happened to this man? He may try to think he is the same, as a human being and a workman, that he was when he fell out of his job. He is not. Far from it. He has gone backward and downward every day. He has lost in nerve, for he has seen how he is only one of the many down and out. He has lost in the confidence he had in his knowledge of his trade, for in looking about him he has learned how methods have changed. He has lost in self-respect, for he feels every hour that men may speak of him as not having made

good. He has lost flesh and even strength, for he has been economizing on his bodily sustenance. He has suffered every day in his pride; where once it moved him as a man it now merely stirs him to irritability.

When a man in this condition of mind and body finds a job, his difficulties in keeping up with the others on a forece are almost insuperable. He balks at any task that is new to him, lacking self-confidence. He fears every day that a new lay-off may be awaiting him. He resents the foreman's eye, or a fellow-worker's show of help, or the silent sizing-up he knows he is getting from the crowd about him. He has the sensation that they are saying he has lost his hold. It is a question in his own mind whether he really ever can "come back" or catch on again.

It is a social truth that the first thing a man in such plight needs is a kind of medicine. If he can be placed in circumstances in which he can be set firmly on his feet again, he may stand upright and do good work the rest of his days. A new suit of clothes, a little feeding up, a helping hand at the right moment at his work, a good-natured bluffing in response to his irritable moods, an acknowledgement by those about him that hard luck is waiting at any and every one's door, the nerve reaction that ensues upon good stiff work, and the re-establishment of the discipline of routine—with such medicine the worker who quailed in fear lest he might be relegated to the human scrap-

heap may become a man again. But if his chance hangs off too long, his fate is to "lay down." He is "gone." Somehow, death often comes opportunely in such cases. The real man having passed away, the poor body remains only to succumb, in its weakness, to one of the hundred forms of illness into which watchful death is ready to lead him.

How many good honest men every one of us among the elders have seen passing through these sufferings, each a sacrifice to an imperfect civilization! On the other hand, as if to prove that the dead ones were so sacrificed, how many other men, just of about the same general character, we have seen picking themselves up through finding a job in the nick of time, fully recovering their lost ground, and living happily with their families thereafter a good, long lifetime!

Fellow union men, as you have read these lines have you not been reflecting, as have we, upon the fact that when your union was weak, or lacking in out-of-work or other funds, you saw a far greater proportion of men going down and out in the struggle than since your union has become strong? It has become helpful to its temporarily unfortunate members. But tell us, you men among the unorganized, where can you look for help in your trade when you lose your job, fall sick, go wandering in search of work, or need insurance of any kind against the misfortunes which the wage-workers of your own occupation must face in common?

MAKING ROADS THROUGH PRISON LABOR

Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, Secretary National Committee on Prison Labor

Open up your jails, penitentiaries and prisons!" cry the good roads associations throughout the country—"a solution is at hand for your most difficult problem. Bad men on bad roads make good roads, while good roads make good men."

"Good roads and good men" has become a slogan and no topic of prison news today is more widely discussed in the press from coast to coast than this—the employment of convicts in public road building.

Convict road making is a pressing question before the present sessions of legislatures, county supervisors and boards of control. Members are hesitating as to what answer to make and what arguments pro or con to bring forth. The literature on the subject is abundant, but in the suggestions there is little that is new. That thirty-three states had laws on their statute books in 1905 permitting the employment of convicts on state and county roads shows

that a solution of the problem does not necessarily lie in legislation but in its administration. The various forms which these laws take demonstrate the fact that there is as yet no satisfactory or uniform law. The many different experiments going on today appear to have grown out of local needs and conditions rather than out of any generally accepted theory of what is right from the standpoint of penology. To solve satisfactorily the difficult problem involved, or even to suggest its proper solution, would require long research and experimentation, but perhaps it may be timely to point out some of the difficulties which must be encountered wherever convict road making is tried.

The theory that convict labor is a proper source of exploitation either by a lessee through his peonage, a contractor through his cheap contract, or a co-ordinate department of a state government through its subtle bookkeeping, is

one that is untenable from any point of view. Road making is a legitimate use of state funds and is of practical benefit to all citizens by reducing the cost of transportation of the products of the farms to the great markets; therefore anything that will expedite the building of good roads is for the common welfare. It is on this basis that it is urged that the labor of convicts be used for this purpose. The state has a right to its use and under certain conditions it would greatly reduce the cost of production and tend to a more rapid development of good roads projects.

Still, we are face to face with a condition whereby the state directs its prison department to allow its highway department to have the labor of the convicts at little or no cost to the highway department and consequently at a figure much below that at which free labor might be induced to seek employment in road building. The claim that free labor cannot be had at any wage for work on roads in certain communities is generally advanced as a justification for this, but the large employment agencies of the country as well as the student of economics will soon show conclusively that the difficulty lies not in securing labor at any price, but in reluctance to give an adequate wage which will induce labor to come into the work.

The value of the convict's labor on the roads is the same as the value of his labor in the prison factory—the wage at which free labor can be secured to perform the same work. Shall the prison department turn over gratis its convicts to the highway department—this is the question. If it does, it is giving to the highway department exactly that amount of money for which the highway department could hire free labor. It makes little difference to the taxpayer which he is taxed to maintain, prisons or roads. Prisons are deemed a necessity and the community is afraid to get along without them. Bad roads are a habit and the community is accustomed to get along with them. But with a single tax maintaining prisons

and developing highways, what community could hesitate?

A much more legitimate argument, but one less often advanced, is the healthful, wholesome environment thrown around the convict while at work in road building. The experience of the men who developed the road work in Colorado shows that this is an advantageous way of employing able-bodied convicts—of transforming the sallow ghost-like prisoner, fresh from the prison pen, into a rosy, happy specimen of humanity. Under God's own sky, with the fresh air of heaven, free from shackles and living on his honor with few guards to do more than supervise, the prisoner is surrounded by the best environment and governed under a method which is sane. While it remains to be proved how long this method will be a success and whether the experience of Colorado can be duplicated both north and south, the work at Kalamazoo, Mich., at Richmond, Va., and other places tends to raise our hope. These practical arguments should have weight.

A movement equally important with that of good roads is passing over the country. Efficiency is demanded in the management of prisons, with a wage for the convict which will benefit those dependent on him. To build up an efficient organization of prison industries is a task of no mean magnitude on an inadequate salary and hampered by red-tape of officialdom and incompetency of subordinates. The man at the head of prison departments needs sympathetic encouragement. To place upon him the burden of securing large appropriations for maintenance of his institution while the labor of his charges is handed over to others for exploitation is destructive of all ambition for the attainment of efficiency.

So it is that the movements of the day tend to clash and we are left with a dilemma. Is there a demand on the part of the highway and road people which is legitimate, which will open this seemingly large opportunity for the convict and still not offer it on a basis of exploitation? This conflict is full of interest to the student of the subject.

“BUTS” AND “BUTS,” WITHOUT END

By Samuel Gompers

The tricky employing-class opponent of the trade union is known through his talk after he has spoken ten words on the subject of unionism. He has always “an open mind;” he wishes “to speak candidly;” he has “no class prejudices.” This run of professions, however, he is

sure to follow with a “But”—and the “but” marks his getting ready to fire off at you a lawyer's trip-you-up query. He has a mental magazine stocked with about six “buts” on the labor problem. Nothing else; for he has no desire to weigh evidence and reach the truth.

He has heard every one of his "buts" explained away a score of times, yet he still uses them when he can. Once in a while he finds a labor sympathizer who is not prepared off-hand to put the labor side to one of his "buts" briefly and clearly, and in such a case, seizing his advantage, he has trade unionism vanquished in two minutes.

Here's a favorite "But" of this canny class of objectors: "But I never could understand why the labor leaders insist on their followers getting equal pay for unequal work. They reduce their best men to the level of their worst."

That's a tangle of tortuous statements, tied up tight with malice pretense. It forms somewhat of a puzzle for the trade union novice to undo. But its knots are made up of three fallacies, each of which taken separately easily becomes plain. First: There are no "labor leaders" in the sense employed in the assertion. Matters of primary weight in the policy of the union movement are decided by the membership, democratically organized, deliberations free to all, and the right of balloting equal. Union officials are spokesmen or administrators, and, while through experience they may become advisers, they are possessed only of powers imparted to them by their fellow-members. Opponents speak of "labor leaders" as if some divine right, or despotic method, or sorcerer's wand had conferred on the few in the union the magic art of dictating to the many. As a fact, responsibility as a union official is assumed at the price of dictation from the ranks—sometimes accompanied with unjust criticism, misunderstanding, jealousies, and jarring reminders of the election day to come.

Secondly: How is it that no objections to working at uniform minimum wage-scale come from "the better qualified" in a union defending their supposed interests against "the less qualified"? In every union the scale is open to debate by all the members. In the international unions a general vote on any question may be asked on petition by a small minority, yet the proposition to abolish the irreducible minimum of the scale never comes up. Why? There's a poser for the "But" man. If the employing-class objectors' opposition on this point, that an injury is done to

the best workers, is grounded on any injustice, intelligent wage-earners suffering under it might be expected to bring it up sometime, somewhere, for adjustment. Men (and union men especially) are prone to cry out against injustice. The reply is, that trade unionists have time without number considered this question and have reached a common determination. This is, that employers may pay more than a fixed minimum rate, but shall pay no less. The employers respond by usually paying and equal rate to all. They see no injustice whatever in taking their advantage of cutting down all their employees to the lowest rate which any will accept. Strange it is that so few of them see the justice to "the better qualified" might bring the latter voluntary offerings from their employers above the scale in proportion to merits! That's the other side of the shield. The "But" gag-worker rarely sees it; so he pretends.

Third: Why a union irreducible minimum? Several good answers are to be given. Here is one now: No employee is paid according to the volume or value of his individual output. He is paid according to the price which a competitor workman in his occupation will consent to work for to get his job. In the absence of a trade union, employers play off the bids of one man or set of men seeking work against another, down to the lowest level possible—the social cost of qualifying an employee considered. The union, on the other hand, restricts this competition, thereby stiffening the "labor market" and establishing an enhanced value for every employee. The union man therefore generally owes his rate of wages in live industries to the union and not to his individual product. Hence, "the better qualified" employee, knowing this fact, is well satisfied to take even the union minimum rate rather than risk the variable competitive rates under non-unionism. Under these, he is fully aware, his pay envelope would soon tell him a less joyful tale than when on Saturday night it now brings him the level union scale—plus manifold forms of the square deal in conditions of work usually unknown to the non-unionist.

Have you your answer, honest Mr. "But"?

TO PREVENT GRAFT.

Washington, May 20.—Representative Randell of Texas, has introduced a bill to prohibit the receiving of gifts, employment or compensation from certain corporations by senators, representatives, delegates or resident commissioners in

the congress of the United States, or senators, representatives, delegates, or resident commissioners-elect, and the judges and justices of the United States courts, and prescribing penalties of from \$100 to \$10,000, with jail sentences from six months to two years.

TAFT AGAINST ORGANIZATION.

Addresses Convention of Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and Postal Clerks' Union Is Discussed.

Washington, May 20.—President Taft's address to the Railroad Trainmen merely substantiates his former position relative to union labor. He, like many others, "believes in good unions," otherwise known as "mutual admiration societies," but deems it inimical to the government to permit federal employees to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The statements of the president are undoubtedly due to the fact that Senator La Follette and Representative Lloyd have introduced bills in Congress, which have two purposes, one of nullifying the order of the president, which prevents employees of the government petitioning Congress on their own behalf, and the other permitting them to associate themselves together for their own benefit. Great stress has been laid in the assertion that these organized postal clerks might strike. This is not in accord with the facts, for the last resort of federal employees is legislation and, furthermore, it has been demonstrated at the recent hearings that there have been strikes of government employees who were not organized, but since the same men have formed an organization, the grievances were adjusted through committees, instead of the objectionable form of resignation. Singular as it is, every time a pronouncement against the American Federation of Labor is delivered by government officials, added impetus is given to the organizations of railway mail clerks.

To the Officers and Members of the I. B. E. W. Greetings:

The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of San Francisco are very active in advertising the State of California, and the City of San Francisco in regards to the climate, industrial, and financial conditions. You working men of the Middle West, Southern, and Eastern States want to take notice of the facts, as to the industrial conditions of the State and especially San Francisco, conditions in San Francisco at the present time are very discouraging, and it is growing worse owing to the influx of unemployed men coming to our State and City, and thousands of people are being deceived by glowing advertisements and false reports published and sent to every corner of the world. Thousands of mechanics are unemployed, and walking the streets of San Francisco looking for work which they can not find, and hundreds of Electrical Workers are out of work and unable to find employment of any kind, the cost of

living is high and still going up and wages are normal, therefore, brothers, stay away from California and San Francisco until you receive a report of the conditions from the Labor movement, and not become hoodwinked by the reports you receive from the Merchants and Manufacturers of California asking you to come here.

Trusting you brothers will respect this appeal from the Electrical Workers on the Pacific coast and from Local Union No. 151, I beg to remain, yours for unionism,

Respectfully and fraternally yours,
F. Bartholomew,
Financial Secretary and Business Agent,
Local Union No. 151, I. B. E. W.

OUT OF WORK AND WHY?

(By Edwin R. Wright, President Illinois State Federation of Labor.)

A study of 122,621 trade unionists recently developed several very important facts. Among other things we find that 12,517 were idle.

8,938 because of lack of work or material.

1,432 because of unfavorable weather.

173 because of labor troubles.

1,508 because of sickness, accident, or old age.

466 because of temporary shut-downs, etc.

The author of the report (the Director of the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts) informs us that he secured his figures from the trade unions, because "There is no source from which information as to the state of employment of unorganized workmen can be obtained short of a census."

Two years ago 14,345 men were idle out of a total of 102,941. One year later the figures show 10,084 idle out of a total of 107,689. So the figures are representative, and may be taken as showing that you, Mr. Workingman, may expect something like the following:

If you marry at 25 and start in the serious business of life as a self-respecting worker, trying to provide a home and shelter for those dear to you; trying to lay up a dollar or so for the proverbial rainy day, you may expect the average penalty of two and one-half years of idleness before you reach the age of fifty.

Contrary to fears of your wife, who knows little of union duties and obligations, you will lose only ten days because of strike or lockout.

Your wife may look with real apprehension for the three months you will suffer from the result of accident or sickness, usually caused through the

nature of your employment. You may die or be killed, of course, but that is another story. Don't get the idea into your head that these three months are included in the loss of time sustained by a sore thumb or the stomach ache. These three months are the real thing—not the occasional day or week of indisposition or suffering. It may, and often does, include the period just preceding your passing away.

You can't get away from you troubles by moving to a country town, if you live in the city. Neither can you by going to the city from the country town. One hundred and nine towns were investigated, and 862 unions opened their records to the investigators.

If you are dissatisfied with your calling, then put this in your pipe and smoke it for a while.

One-fifth of all the trade unions reporting were credited to the Building Trades, and of these (25,150) there were 4,829 officially out of work. The weather has a great deal to do with their work, 18 per cent being idle in December and 4.47 per cent being out of work in September. Reports for previous years show about the same ratio.

The boot and shoe workers reversed this average, more of the workers being idle in September than in December. Nearly one-fifth of the unionists reporting were of this craft, as Massachusetts is noted for its shoe factories.

Railroad men seem to be suffering by comparison with a year ago, but not to any serious extent. Five times as many teamsters were idle, compared with railroad employees.

More barbers were out of work than at any previous reporting period, while musicians seemed to be faring a little better—5 per cent were seeking employment.

I wouldn't care to be a garment worker. More than one-third of these were idle, and many of the rest were working only a portion of the time.

Iron and steel workers, both in the foundries and in the shops, lose a good deal of time, ranging from 10 to 29 per cent, according to the season of the year.

Cigarmakers and printers were quite generally employed, the percentage of idleness varying from three to five for each one hundred workers.

What impresses me most is the fact that during a period of prosperity every tenth man is looking for a job. If this covered merely a time of depression, it would be accepted as a matter of course. Another significant feature is the period credited to labor difficulties. Both strikes and lockouts—and it is not

too much to credit each with an equal share of responsibility—account for but 173 workers, or 0.14 per cent. If only one man out of every two thousand is out of work because of strike troubles it should be credited to the everlasting honor of our unions.

CONFERENCE OF UNION OFFICIALS.

Pennsylvania Railway System Subject of Conference at Pittsburg, Pa.

Washington, April 8.—Organizers representing the American Federation of Labor and the International Unions of Machinists, Carmen, Boiler Makers and Blacksmiths have been engaged for some time in organizing the men employed by the Penna. R. R. Co. in the various repair shops on their system. Within the past few weeks several hundred shopmen were informed by officers of the Pennsylvania Railroad that unless they ceased their affiliation with labor unions they would be discharged. Members of Committees who waited upon the management and protested against the action of the officers of the company, were immediately dispensed with, together with officers and members who refused to withdraw from their unions. The company claims that they are reducing their force, but, at the same time, the men layed off were informed that if they ceased their affiliation with their unions they would be placed back at work.

The organizers state that with few exceptions, reports from various points are encouraging. The discharge of the men who are members of unions resulted in the holding of several mass meetings of Sheet Metal Workers, Blacksmiths, Machinists, Boiler Makers, Railway Carmen, and the representatives of the Brotherhoods of Engineers, Firemen, Conductors and Trainmen, with a representative of the A. F. of L. on Wednesday, April 5th, in Pittsburg, Pa., for the purpose of taking such action as would result in preventing further discrimination against employees who were members of a union. It is expected that the combined influence of all the organizations will bring about an understanding that will prevent discrimination on the part of the officers of the company in the future.

It is asserted by the men that the company has instructed its officers to ask them whether or not they belong to a union, or intend to, and that in laying them off, they should lay off the employees who are members of an organization.

WHO ARE THE MEN HIGHER UP.

One interesting question that might be considered at this time is who were the

men higher up in the movement to break the I. B. E. W.

Was there a connection with other than labor interests and who was the connecting link.

A circular issued by Reid's Local No. 133 of New York City makes very interesting reading along that line.

The members of his own local state that Kelly swore in court that he had been a paid agent of the Building Trades Employers' Association and that he still believed in the open shop.

They also state that five hundred dollars was donated through the efforts of Reid and the Councils and Locals also advanced some money to help No. 133 along. But that the Local never saw any of the money, Kelley and Ryan got it they say. In spite of this Reid was forced to uphold Kelley and Ryan against the rest of the Local. Is this because of love of Kelley and Ryan or were Kelley and Ryan on the business end of the thumb screws?

What the Hell is the Constitution Among Friends?

The Local and other officers protested against the actions of Kelley and Ryan and Reid fired all the other officers without trial leaving Kelley a clear field to operate on. *Some class to that decision.*

Living Up to the Laws. Decision No. 2. Reid ruled that all members of the Brotherhood were entitled to vote on all questions (in Local 133), whether they belonged to Local 133 or not. *"Some system to that ruling too."*

It is an old saying that politics makes strange bedfellows, but politics is a back number in forcing strange conditions when secession takes the field.

The seceders' financial accounts show that three hundred dollars (\$300.00) loaned to No. 133 was drawn in favor of Dan Ryan. So it is plain as to who handled the money. But the vital point is what forces are there behind the secession movement that makes a man like Reid, calling himself a labor leader, choose an avowed advocate of the open shop and self confessed employee of the Employers' Association for his aid in forming a dual organization, and what power has this open shop advocate to force Reid to uphold his acts against the protest of the entire Local when they appealed for relief? Why did he do it? *Echo answers, Why?*

Washington, April 22.—Kirby of the Manufacturers' Association, has a new role. Finding that the organization of which he is the head was incapable of destroying union labor, he now is the generalissimo of organizations now being formed in the south and other localities under the title of Builders' Exchanges.

Copies of resolutions adopted by the Atlanta (Ga.) Builders' Exchange have just reached the headquarters of the A. F. of L. These resolutions start out with an inflation equal to the resolution promulgated by the "three tailors of Tooley street," and with the sensational announcement that "they advocate nine hours as a proper workday." The compilers of the resolutions refer with avidity and pride to the hearings before the naval affairs committee of the house of representatives during the closing hours of the sixty-first congress. They do not have a word to say, however, of how armor plate fell in price from \$725 per ton to \$300 per ton as the result of union labor's agitation. They also forget (?) to mention the fact that as a result of the government deciding to construct battleships in its own navy yard that the contract price of private ship building companies fell from \$313 per ton displacement (the Oregon's price) to \$180 per ton displacement (the Utah's price) and during that period all material entering into the construction of vessels having increased in price, armor plate being purchased by the government direct not entering into the contract price.

The fact that the government has demonstrated its ability to construct vessels itself in its own navy yard, has also demonstrated, as shown above, that private shipyard owners have been receiving exorbitant prices for constructing government vessels. Even though the government may be expending larger sums in the construction of ships of a certain size and burden than contract yards will build them for, yet total cost to the government falls below that which it would be compelled to pay were not the government prepared to do its own work.

But aside from all these considerations, there is a human side. The eight-hour day is a reasonable and rational workday. Of all the nations of the earth the American republic should establish the highest standard for the workmen of our day. The destiny of this country does not rest on the successful financial operations of a few ship building concerns at the expense of the working people, but upon its ability to equalize the burdens and equitable distribute to the great mass of the people a greater share of the wealth which they produce. The eight-hour day is here, and here it is going to stay, backed by a wholesome and humanitarian spirit.

Washington, April 22.—The strike of the members of the Enamellers' union of Port Hope, Ontario, on account of the discharge of the president for his membership in the union, and on account of the efforts of the management to prevent the

formation of a union, has been adjusted by Organizer Flett and all of the men returned to work with the assurance that no further discrimination would be made against them on account of their membership in the union.

COMPLIMENT WEEKLY SERVICE.

Executive Council of A. F. of L. Receive Commendation for Inauguration of News Letter.

Washington, April 22.—Since the inauguration of the weekly news letter two

weeks ago a large number of congratulatory communications have been received at headquarters. Washington, aside from being the headquarters of the trade union movement, together with congress in session the greater part of the year, is an ideal location as a news gathering point. So far as the labor movement is concerned it is strongly reflected in all its details at A. F. of L. headquarters. From the legislative end it is possible to watch minutely the doings of the national legislature and inform the union population of the entire country the important happenings from week to week.

WHO KEEPS US APART?

From Shoe Workers' Journal

Employing interests are often charged with scheming to keep working men divided in hostile factions, or to keep them from organizing in unions, or to cause the disbandment of unions. These charges are made with reference to efforts on the part of certain malicious employers entirely apart from wage disputes in the particular factories of the employers charged with this offence.

To illustrate, C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, Mich., frequently purchases large advertising space in the public press for the purpose of printing his diatribes against the labor unions, seeking to influence working men from joining with or remaining in them. Also Mr. Kirby, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, is likewise charged with making every known effort to discourage organization of working men generally.

Certain trade associations of employers are also believed to be engaged in a like effort, and we may therefore reasonably conclude that the charge that many employers of labor for selfish purposes, are disposed to give their secret influence and support to any movement or effort calculated to minimize or diminish the strength or influence of unions of labor is generally true.

It must also be true that these interests support certain detective agencies, which profess, for a consideration, to disclose to employers the business transacted at union meetings, and that they also support and maintain certain strike-breaking agencies.

But what of it? What else can we expect? The Kirbys and the Posts may profess it to be their desire to prevent the working man from being oppressed, as they say, by "the tyranny of unions" and the "closed shop," but we can all easily understand that all this prattle but thinly disguises their real purpose. Each of us recognizes that their interests as

employers are diametrically opposed to ourselves. They want to produce their goods a cheaply as they can and sell them as dearly as they may. This means profit to them.

If by any chicanery they have been enabled to keep their own employees divided they are fearful that the spread of unionism in other trades may sooner or later infect their own employees and compel them to deal with them in fixing the wages and conditions of their labor, and hence they are deeply interested in seeking to weaken the labor union cause in every direction, in the hope that by so doing they may keep it from their own door.

Understanding, as we do, their interests, and consequently their motives, why should we listen to their advice? It is manifest that the only motive they are entitled to at our hands is to be at all times classed among our enemies.

To charge them with being responsible for keeping us apart is a confession of our own weakness in our own faith, and a half-hearted apology therefor.

In seeking to answer the question, "Who keeps us apart?" therefore, let us look to ourselves, because the employers, or those of them that wish to do so, are not entitled to any hearing at our hands on that question, nor are they competent to accomplish that purpose without our assistance as their willing or unwitting tools.

It would be better for us if we spent more time remedying our own faults rather than in denunciations of persons outside of our ranks, and from whom we have no right to expect anything but antagonism towards our cause. And by this statement it is not meant that we should hunt for flaws in our fellow workmen, but that each one of us should take the matter of self-investigation up with his own self individually.

Let us look at our own misguided selfishness, which too often prompts us to do a mean act or to say a mean thing affecting the character or welfare of one of our associates in our own union.

Let us each seek our individual welfare in the welfare of all, realizing that our individual selfish interest is more surely advanced with the improvement of the conditions of the whole than by any petty or mean effort we may be guilty of as an individual.

Let us try to cure ourselves of our lack of constructiveness, which turns many of us into knockers, who do not seek to build, nor perhaps intend to destroy, but who have the effect of destroying because they are not builders.

Let us be builders of unions rather than destructionists. Let us be less disposed to cast suspicion upon our associates, and particularly let us refuse to receive or give credence to these suspicions, especially when coming from union-destroying employers.

Let us try to curb ourselves of our habit of senseless criticism of the actions or character of our brothers. We should realize that every man who works is needed in our movement, and necessary to its success. Why should any of us seek to weaken our cause by driving away any worker by our personal criticism or attack?

Why not try to see in every man the best of him, and endeavor to ignore his petty faults? Every man has some good points—some good qualities. Why not see them and think of them while he is living and with us, and essential to us? Why must a man die before his good qualities are recognized? The theory of speaking well of the dead does not assist us who are living to unify our forces, and to be successful in our struggles.

A most successful business man has said that he had given up looking for perfect men years ago, because he came to realize that perfect men did not exist. Since then has had been looking for the good points in men that he could use with benefit to his business, and was disposed to close his eyes to faults, unless they were faults of such magnitude as to nullify the good qualities of a man, and to prevent his efforts being successful.

We must do the same, and more, because we need every man in our business, and cannot afford to deny or exclude any of them; therefore, we must take every man as he is and make the best of him, seeking to develop his good qualities and to minimize his bad ones.

When we talk disparagingly of our brother unionists we magnify his faults and ignore or minimize his virtues, and the result is that our habits of criticism and the entertaining and spreading of suspicion are what is keeping us apart. Therefore, we ourselves, in our own individual personal conduct towards each other, are keeping ourselves apart, and breaking ourselves asunder when once we are united in name.

It is not the self-seeking employer or his schemes or machinations that keeps us apart. It is ourselves with our individual fault-finding, knocking, criticisms and suspicion planting methods.

It is not what the employers say or do that counts. It is what we say and do.

Let us talk and act towards our fellow workmen for unity, instead of for division.

Let us—each one of us—take this lesson home to ourselves individually, and seek to set a better example to our fellow men by our personal conduct in the future.

EFFICIENT DIVIDENDS IN LIFE INSURANCE

The second financial year of the Insurance Departments of the Whitman Savings Bank and the People's Savings Bank of Brockton closed October 31st, 1910, and at that time the second full year of business for Savings Bank Life Insurance ended. Since then the State Actuary has calculated the legal reserve upon the policies in force and determined the surplus available for dividends. The State Actuary recently recommended the following scale of dividends to the Trustees of the Whitman and Brockton Banks, which was adopted by them on Monday evening, December 12th:

Upon monthly premium policies which have been in force *one year*, a dividend of 8 1/3% was declared, and this dividend amounted to one month's premium.

On monthly premium policies which have been in force *two years* a dividend amounting to one and one half month's premium was declared. This dividend is 12 1/2% of one year's premium. This dividend will also be paid on all policies which reached their second anniversary during the present financial year.

Monthly premium policies, when they shall have been in force *three years*, will receive dividend amounting to one and two-thirds monthly premium. This dividend is about 14% of one year's premium.

The effect of these dividends can be shown by comparison of the \$250 monthly policy on the life plan issued to a person at the age of 25, with a similar policy in industrial insurance. The

premium on such a policy issued by the Insurance Departments of the Savings Bank amounts to 50c per month or \$6 a year; a similar industrial policy would cost \$7.22 per year. As a dividend of one monthly premium was declared at the end of the first year, this makes the Savings Bank policy cost \$5.50 the first year, as against \$7.22 on the industrial policy or 28% less than the industrial policy. As a second year's dividend has been declared amounting to a month and a half's premium, the Savings Bank policy costs for the second year \$5.25 or 27.3% less than an industrial policy. When the Savings Bank policy has been in force three years a dividend will be received amounting to 83c and, therefore, the cost of such a policy for the third year is \$5.17 or 28.4% less than the industrial policy.

At first only monthly premium policies were issued by the Insurance Departments of the Banks, but it was soon found that there was a demand for policies payable either annually, semi-annually or quarterly. Therefore, the insuring banks began to issue three forms of policies on the annual premium basis—straight life, twenty-payment life and twenty year endowment. The rates on these policies are believed to be the lowest rate on policies of similar amounts obtainable in any mutual legal reserve company.

The Trustees of the Banks have now declared a dividend on all annual premium policies, which have been in force

one year, or which shall reach their first anniversary during the current fiscal year. Upon the *straight life* policies which have been in force on year, a dividend of about 5½% was declared. On the *twenty-payment* life policies a dividend of about 4½% was declared. Upon the *twenty-year endowment* policies a dividend of about 3½% was declared. On all these policies the amount of the dividend varies a little, according to the age of the policy holder.

The Trustees also voted that upon the second anniversary of these policies a dividend should be paid of about 6% on the straight life policy; a dividend approximately 5% upon the twenty-payment life, and a dividend of a little over 4% on the twenty-year endowment policy.

On deferred annuity policies 30% of one monthly premium will be paid on their anniversaries during the current year. In addition thereto, 30% of one monthly premium on policies issued in the financial year ending October 31, 1909, which received no dividend last year.

The number of policies and the amount of insurance in the Whitman Savings Bank and the People's Savings Bank of Brockton have shown a satisfactory increase during the last year, and at the end of the financial year there were 3,318 policies in force insuring \$1,367,363.

In addition to the above there were outstanding sixty-one annuity policies representing payments of \$9,364.92.

THE MAN WITH THE YELLOW STREAK

He's as dangerous as a streak of lightning—and as treacherous. He flashes his true self without warning and always hits something or somebody who doesn't expect the blow.

He's the man with the yellow streak—the man who can't win. He's wrong—wrong from eyelash to toe tip. There's a flaw in his grain—he isn't made of the stuff to stand the strain. He's bound to give way under pressure. His meat is weak—his blood is thin—his soul is lacking. He's afflicted with an incurable moral epilepsy. He falls down in a panic every time he's called on to stand up and show his manhood.

He can't reach a very high place and stay there. He's cursed with the dread of those who are afraid of great heights. It clutches him when he is midway up the ladder, and, instead of going on and upward, he hugs to the rungs and hangs there shivering with dread. He magnifies—he multiplies his dangers—he loses all his balance—his caution disappears, and, instead, a foolhardy irresponsibility takes its place.

He's a drowning man, sinking in a sea of self-exaggerations. He will lay hold of anybody to save his own skin—he will sacrifice his friends, family, employer—even his hope of the future—in his wild frenzy to look out for his own interests of the moment.

He's a coward—a mean, selfish craven. He's a girder with a flaw—a beam with a knot. Don't use him where there is likely to be a strain—he's a man with a danger spot. No matter how brilliant or trained or resourceful he may be when everything is right—all his superior qualifications are nil and must not be called on in an emergency. He's diseased—he has a taint—he can never be counted on to utilize his gifts when they ought to count most.

He can't help himself because he isn't man enough to own up and ask for assistance. He won't tell you what's wrong with him. He wears the velvet of false pride over his threadbare patch and you only see it when it's too late and his cloak drops and shows his tattered courage.

Search him out among men and your

associates. Don't wait until he runs amuck. He won't give you warning—he loses his reason—he doesn't realize what is happening. In his wild zeal to protect himself from the whiplash of consequences, he'll lie—he'll cheat—he'll throw blame on the innocent. It's a kindness to both of you not to give him a chance to hurt himself and you.

You can't reform him. He's quicksand—he'll merely keep involving you.

The only thing under the sun that can possibly bring him to himself is to leave him to himself. A great enough shock may awaken the man in him—no other medicine will count.

Dress parade isn't the test of a soldier. The best tactician under normal circum-

stances shows up poorest in emergencies. Resourcefulness under the pressure of circumstance has sent many a recruit climbing over the heads of trained but unseasoned superiors.

There comes an hour when grit surmounts all else. Then it isn't the number of avoirdupois, or the size of a bicep, or the number of convolutions in a brain that count, but the depth of the threads in a man's screws of courage. Then opportunity enters full winged upon the scene and the right man is bound to come to the front. He'll always take his proper post—and the man with the yellow streak is sure to drop to his true level whenever things get red hot and the fur begins to fly.—Ex.

BITTER STRIFE IN UNION RANKS

Schenectady, N. Y., April 15.—There is bitter strife in the ranks of the electric workers in this city and the trouble threatens to assume serious proportions in the near future unless a compromise can be effected between the combatants. It appears that there is a split in the international organization of electrical workers and one faction headed by J. J. Reed has seceded from the union and formed a separate organization. The members of the secessionist party are bitterly opposed to the regulars and open warfare has been declared with the result that the issue is being fought at every stage of the game. In this city the new faction has secured many adherents, although the regulars are in the great majority at present, but the rebels assert that their cause is gaining ground and in a short time they will be able to meet the regulars on almost equal terms. President Reed of the rebel faction, was in Schenectady on Wednesday evening and delivered an address at Red Men's hall, but the regulars say that he had but little success in making converts to his cause, while his followers state that several new members were enrolled to fight against the international organization, of which F. J. McNulty is the recognized head.

The row that has been started in this city has interfered with the granting of the contract for the wiring of the new school building to some extent and the postponement of the award by the board of contract and supply was due to the fact that considerable opposition was advanced by the regulars in the electrician's union when it became known that some of the firms submitting bids for the work would employ members of the rebel faction. It is stated that strong pressure was brought to bear on the members of the board to have the contract awarded to some firm employing only regular union

men, but it is doubtful whether the board will seriously consider any influence of this kind in awarding the contract. The action taken in postponing the awarding of the contract until next week will give the warring factions an opportunity to agree on some compromise and if possible come to an understanding regarding the disagreement.

Branded as Traitors

That the trouble has assumed a serious aspect and the faction of rebels contains a large number of adherents is shown by the action taken by the Schenectady Trades Assembly at its meeting held Wednesday evening. There the matter was fully discussed in all its phases and some very sharp things were said of the seceding unionists. The climax came when a resolution was passed branding as traitors to the cause all electricians who have joined the ranks of the rebels and stating that hereafter they will be considered as non-union men and not entitled to any of the privileges of regular members of the international organization. This step means war to the knife on both sides and unless some agreement is reached, labor conditions in Schenectady may be disturbed seriously.

The trouble over the awarding of the high school wiring contract was first detected when the board of contract and supply first advertised for bids. At that time the members of the International Electrical Workers' Union served notice on the proper officials that it was expected that the contract would be awarded to some firm employing only members of the international organization, this being the first gun of the skirmish. When the action of the McNulty adherents became known to the rebels, they also put in a demand to the board that they be allowed a chance at the work and it was originally for the purpose of backing the

demands of the seceding faction that J. J. Reed, the head of this body, came to Schenectady. The charge is also made by the members of the regular organization that several electrical firms in this city are aiding and abetting the formation of the new faction and at the same time representing themselves as firm supporters of the regulars, but no definite state-

ments are made as to the names of the concerns in question. A deputation from the International Electrical Workers' Union called upon Mayor Charles C. Duryee on Thursday afternoon for the purpose of urging that the contract for the wiring of the new school building be awarded to some firm employing only members of their organization, but the result of this conference is not known.

Mr. Peter W. Collins,
Sec'y Electrical Workers Int. Bro.,
Pierick Bldg., Springfield, Ill.

My Dear Sir and Bro.:—As you are doubtless aware, the Court of Appeals of this State has declared unconstitutional the Workmen's Compensation act, which was enacted last year through the efforts of our State Federation, and which was designed to protect workers and their families in cases of industrial accidents. The matter is of vast and far-reaching importance to all wage earners engaged in the building industry. The decision was founded on ground that the law violated both the State and Federal Constitution inasmuch as it took property from an individual (the employer) without due process of law—a theory that holds good in no other country in the world outside of this enlightened domain.

Feeling assured, however, that because of the ceaseless agitation of Organized Labor, through many years, especially in this State, and the acceptance of the theory in other countries, that the general public have, to a large degree, awakened to the fact that workers who take the risk of industrial accidents for the general benefit of society, should be recompensed in case of injury and their families cared for in case of death, our Executive Council immediately after the rendering of the decision nullifying our former efforts, formulated a plan of campaign to restore the wreck caused by the court's decision. At a meeting held last week the following program was mapped out:

1. An amendment to the State Constitution authorizing the enactment of a compulsory compensation act.

2. A bill to remodel the annulled act so that it shall apply to corporations only, instead of individuals, as employers.

3. To draft and introduce a State insurance plan bill.

Washington, April 22.—"Divine right" Baer, the coal king, will be compelled to enter the lists to defend his reputation if Superintendent Vaille of the thirteenth division, railway mail service, has capacity to keep the pace he has set by his declaration concerning the rights of men employed in the railway mail service. Comment is needless. Just scan the

statement of the superintendent published in the Seattle Times:

"The railway mail clerks have an organization," said Mr. Vaille this morning, "known as the Railway Mail Association. Its membership is confined to clerks in the railway service, and it is recognized by the department and always has worked in harmony with it. This organization is a fraternal order. It provides its members benefits in case of accident and promotes the social interests of its members.

"Some of the younger element, however, believe that the association is not radical enough. It is these who are most active in organizing the labor union in the east. The object of the union is to procure for its members more pay at a cost of less work, ignoring the right of the service to the best work they can perform.

"Railway mail clerks have no place in the ranks of skilled labor, and for one to affiliate himself with a union is to place his work on a par with that of a stevedore or a mechanic.

"If they regard themselves merely as laborers working for hire, it is impossible that they should bring to the performance of their duties the enthusiasm born of love for their work and a full realization of the responsibilities placed upon them. No man who regards himself merely as a skilled laborer can be a good postal clerk and be the proper man for our service. A time server has no place in our service and it is better off without him."

Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor, upon receiving the information regarding the attitude of Superintendent Vaille gave out the following:

"The railway mail clerks are a mighty fine body of men, I know they do not share the opinion of Mr. Vaille in regard to mechanics, nor any other class of workers. I suppose Mr. Vaille is so in love with his work that he could not be coaxed to leave it by the offer of increased wages. He works for sheer love of it.

Mr. Vaille does not regard himself as a skilled laborer. If he did, according to his statement he "could not be a good postal clerk and be a proper man for the service." In other words, every man

not a postal clerk, who works at any occupation, no matter how skilled, is a time server. The man who builds the great guns and warships, the man who constructs the most delicate mechanisms in existence, according to Mr. Vaille, are time servers, and would not be a class of men that should be employed by the Government.

Now, let us look at the other side of the picture and see what there is about the work that Mr. Vaille does that calls for a master mind, or even special skill. Mr. Vaille is a division superintendent; he does not even have to know the offices in his division. The railway mail clerks keep them in mind. To perfect themselves they had to give several years to the work in the first instance, and are compelled to work a certain number of hours each day to keep themselves in possession of all the necessary information to do the work. All Mr. Vaille has to do is to carry out the instructions of

the General Superintendent. What superior brain force is necessary to do that? He does not create anything that it would be necessary to bring "to the performance of his duties the enthusiasm born of a love for work, and a full realization of the responsibilities placed upon him."

The work that gives the greatest pleasure to any one is the work that enables a man to create some useful thing, or a thing of beauty. The man who takes a piece of iron and forges a horse shoe has pride in it because it is the product of his skill. The printer who sets, the pressman who prints colored advertisements, or books of advertisements which are pleasing to the eye; the jeweler who moulds out of gold and silver beautiful emblems; the painter, the photo-engraver, the carpenter, aye, the mechanics of every trade, skilled or unskilled, are always in love with their work; if they were not, they could not acquire the skill necessary to excel in their particular craft or calling.

AGREEMENT

Made Between New York Telephone Company and Inside Electrical Workers No. 534 of Greater New York

Memorandum of Agreement made and entered into this sixth day of March, 1911, by and between the New York Telephone Company, a corporation duly organized and doing business under the laws of the State of New York, having its principal office at 15 Dey Street, City of New York, State of New York, and the Inside Electrical Workers of Greater New York, Local 534, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, having its principal office at 50 East 59th Street, City of New York, State of New York.

Witnesseth:

Whereas, there have been disputes between the Telephone Company and the Inside Electrical Workers as to the scope of telephone work to be done by each in buildings in the course of construction and reconstruction in the City of New York and on Long Island outside of the City of New York, and

Whereas, a settlement of such disputes between the Telephone Company and the Inside Electrical Workers is desired,

Now Therefore, in consideration of One Dollar paid by each of the parties hereto to the other, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, it is hereby agreed as follows:

First. The Telephone Company concedes to the Inside Electrical Workers that members in good standing of such Local Union shall be employed to do the interior electric wiring in connection

with the installation of its telephone systems in new buildings, in additions to existing buildings and in buildings undergoing general alterations, as follows:

(a) The running of all individual wires.

(b) The placing of all lateral cables, including supports, except main feeder cables entering the buildings either from the street or from the rear to the first cross-connecting box.

(c) The pulling of all cables in conduits installed by members of the Inside Electrical Workers, except as described under (b).

(d) The placing and erecting of all terminal boxes when sent to jobs attached to lateral cables placed under (b).

(e) The erecting of backboards for wall instruments.

Second. It is further understood and agreed that said work conceded by the Telephone Company to the Inside Electrical Workers does not include the placing of vertical cables (except in conduits installed by the Inside Electrical Workers), the splicing of cables or the installation of central offices, switchboards, instruments or other apparatus, and that the buildings in which the work conceded to the Inside Electrical Workers are those in which the members of the Inside Electrical Workers are employed to do the other electrical work.

Third. It is further understood and agreed that members of the Inside Elec-

trical Workers shall be employed to do work as described in the preceding articles so long as Union Building Trades Mechanics are employed on the structure of such buildings under the original contracts or sub-contracts.

Fourth. The Telephone Company agrees to provide suitable tool chests for storing tools and material.

Fifth. The Telephone Company will be permitted without let or hindrance on the part of the Inside Electrical Workers to do all telephone work of whatsoever nature or character except the work specifically set forth and described in Section First hereof.

Sixth. All future telephone work shall be carried out in accordance with Sections First to Fifth, inclusive.

Seventh. This agreement shall continue in force until December 31st, 1913. If any change is contemplated by either party at its termination, notice in writing shall be given by the party contemplating such change at least sixty (60)

days prior to the expiration of this agreement; such notice to be legally served, and if no such notice is received at least sixty (60) days prior to the expiration of this agreement, it shall continue in force from year to year, subject to a similar sixty (60) day notice.

In Witness Whereof, the parties here-to have signed their names and affixed their seals the day and year first above written.

New York Telephone Company.

By Wm. Lieber,
Vice-President.

Attest:

G. M. Hoppins,
Assistant Secretary.

Inside Electrical Workers of
Greater New York, I. B. E. W.
By Jacob S. Solomon,
John Gallagher,
Charles Du Bourg.

Attest:

Paul McNally,
Secretary.

Utica, N. Y., April 22, 1911.

ELECTRICIANS JOIN IN FIGHT AGAINST STEAM FITTERS' UNION

Sympathetic Strike Brings in New Complications--Work Resumed on Holsen Building

While a number of workmen who struck to aid the plumbers union returned to work yesterday, many electricians joined the sympathetic strike. By order of the union, Thursday night, all electricians were ordered to quit on any building where a union steamfitter reported for work.

This action of the electricians caused other complications, as representatives of another faction of electricians immediately came to Chicago to make arrangements to fill the places of the strikers.

OUTSIDE ELECTRICIANS DRAWN IN.

J. W. Murphy, of what is known as the Reid faction of electricians, held several conferences with electrical contractors and in a few days, it is said, several hundred union electricians will come to Chicago to take the place of the electricians on strike. As the Chicago electricians are on strike to drive the members of a union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor out of work leaders of unions opposing the crusade say they do not object to outside electricians accepting work in Chicago, whether they are members of the American Federation of Labor or not.

Work on the Heisen Building, at Harrison and Dearborn streets, was resumed yesterday, the wire furnishing power to the building having been repaired. Sympathizers with the plumbers are said to

have cut the wire in order that 1000 workmen who objected to the plumbers' campaign would be kept from work. Union officials are guarding the building to prevent a recurrence of the damage. A number of architectural ironworkers have returned to work and there is a big row in the Elevator Constructors' Union because the officials called strikes of the members.

You will appreciate that the Federation has a large task on its hands. We need the assistance of every union in the State in carrying along the agitation, and especially should we have the support of all unions connected with the building trades, whose members will be the largest beneficiaries of the success of the endeavor. This State is the pioneer in this kind of labor legislation, and its success or failure will have a far-reaching effect on other States.

The Executive Council has decided to send a circular letter to all unions in the building industry not now affiliated requesting them to assist in a practical way in the work of the Federation.

Would appreciate it very much if you would send a letter to the unions in your craft urging them to affiliate, in compliance with Section 2 of Article XI of the A. F. of L. Constitution, and thus pave the way. Much has been accomplished in the past beneficial to your craft and

much more could be done if all were supporting the State movement.

The following unions of your craft, by numbers, are now affiliated with the State Federation:

Nos. 20, 41, 140, 267, 328, 419, 534, 658, 664, 682, 86.

Fraternally,

E. A. Bates,
Sec.-Treas. N. Y. S. F. of L.

FAITHFULLY.

Let us do our best, my brothers,
In the work that nearest lies—
Let us fill each day with effort
In the present as it flies;
If it is our part to labor,
Though distasteful work may be,
Let us lift life's heavy burdens,
And let's do it cheerfully.

Labor that is known as worship
Is the honest sort and true;
In whatever fate assigns us
There our best work we must do;
You and I may both be certain,
If I tell it truthfully,
That the Lord has not mistaken
In the work cut out for me.

So let's do our part, my brothers,
Of the world's work if we may;
Blest to be accounted worthy
In the struggle day by day;
Glad to stand among earth's toilers
When from all its cares set free,
Happy with an easy conscience
That we labored faithfully.

—Margaret Scott Hall.

THE ROAD TO SUCCESS.

Here is pretty sage advice from a successful business man:

Don't let anybody tell you that men are the creatures of circumstances; circumstances are the creatures of men. You are the architect of your own fortune. Rely on your own strength of body and soul. Take for your guiding star self-reliance. Inscribe on your banner, "Luck is a fool; pluck is a hero." Don't take too much advice; keep at your helm and steer your own ship, and remember that the great art of commanding is to take a fair share of the work. Think well of yourself, strike out, assume your own position. Drag stones in a wagon over a rough road, and the small ones go to the bottom. Rise above the envious and jealous, fire above the mark you intend to hit. Energy, invincible determination, with a right motive, are the levers that move the world. Don't drink or smoke much; don't swear; don't deceive; don't marry until you can support a wife; be in earnest; be self-reliant; be temperate; be chaste; be generous; be civil; read the papers; advertise your business; make money and do good with it; love your God and fellow men; love truth and vir-

tue; love your country and obey its laws.—Ex.

NO SMILING COWARDS.

I never knew a coward yet
Who faced his trouble with a grin;
A coward I have never met
Who smiled and kept a lifted chin.
I've seen men battered down by fate,
And fettered by grim circumstance,
Who merely grinned and said: "Just wait,
Some day I'll get another chance."

He may go down unto defeat,
And drink his bitter cup of gall;
He may be begging in the street,
But if his smile outlives it all,
If he can grin and say to you:
"Some day I will be up there, yet!"
Although he's beaten black and blue,
He's not a coward, you can bet.

A brave man loses many fights—
A coward loses only one;
An easy win his soul delights,
But with one loss his hope is gone.
Knocked down, the brave man's up again,
Undaunted, though again he's kicked.
Until he takes the count of ten.
The man who grins is never licked.

—Detroit Free Press.

THERE IS NO TRUST.

There is no trust in laughter;
There is no combine here.
In mirth and merrymaking,
No one has cornered cheer.
No one has formed a merger
To boost the price of fun;
The price of real good nature
Is not a costly one.

There is no trust in twinkles
To glisten in your eyes;
No Harriman or Morgan
Cane'er monopolize
The sunbeams in the morning
That dance from skies above;
Though they may corner railroads,
They cannot corner love.

There is no trust in smiling;
Go laughing on your way;
The price of mirth and laughter
Is one that all can pay.
With twinkling eye so loving,
A joke for foes or friends;
There is no trust in laughter;
Right there the combine ends.

—Detroit Free Press.

CHILD-LABOR LEGISLATION IN EUROPE

Child-labor legislation in six European countries—Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland—is the subject of an article printed in Bulletin 89 of the Bureau of Labor of the Department of Commerce and Labor. All of these nations have recognized the existence of a child-labor problem and have attempted to solve it by means of legislation restricting the gainful employment of children and by providing a corps of officials whose special task it is to secure compliance with the terms of the law. The experience of Germany and of Switzerland in this direction is peculiarly suggestive for the United States, because there, as in this country, there is division of legislative and administrative powers between a central government and the local governments.

This article, the results of a study by Dr. C. W. A. Veditz, is not confined to a presentation of the details of the law concerning child labor, but discusses as well the relation of the school and labor laws, the organization and actual work of the labor inspectors, and the present extent and nature of child labor in these countries.

In most of the countries included in this study the limitations upon child labor are not all found in legislative enactments. In many cases the laws themselves constitute merely a framework, which is filled out by means of numerous decrees, ordinances, police regulations, and other legislative or administrative measures. These measures sometimes constitute a relaxation of the rules laid down by the statute, when, for instance, the administrative authorities are given far-reaching power to set up "exceptions" to and "exemptions" from the operations of the laws, and exercise this power in such a manner and on such a scale as partially to abrogate the law. Sometimes, on the other hand, administrative measures result in much stricter regulation of child-labor than appears on the face of the law. Austrian legislation fixes the regular age of factory employment for children at fourteen years, but children of twelve and thirteen may be employed if such employment does not interfere with school, is not detrimental to health, and does not exceed eight hours a day. Below twelve years no regular industrial employment is permitted. In a considerable list of occupations regarded as dangerous or injurious no employment under fourteen is permitted, and in many the employment of children of fourteen and fifteen is much restricted. The hours of labor for children under sixteen must not exceed eleven, though for a few industries twelve hours are permitted. Night work between the particularly in view of the numberless devices employed by certain manufacturers

hours of eight and five is prohibited for all children under sixteen, except that in industries with special needs night work is permitted for children of fourteen and fifteen.

The complaint is frequently in the reports of the labor inspectors that the staff of inspectors is insufficient to carry out the laws with any degree of severity, and that the increase in the number of inspectors has not kept pace with the increase in the number of establishments subject to inspection. Only one-fourth of the children under sixteen actually in industrial employment have the benefit of an inspector's visit during a single year. A large number of establishments subject to law have never, according to the reports, been inspected even once, and to inspect all of them with the present staff would require fifty-nine years.

A recent Austrian official investigation into the extent and nature of gainful employment among the school children under fourteen years of age indicates that in various parts of the Empire the proportion of these children regularly at work varies from 20 to nearly 60 per cent. A large proportion of the working pupils are employed in agriculture and domestic service, oftentimes at kinds of work which require more strength than children under fourteen may reasonably be supposed to possess. Orphaned children and illegitimate children furnish a relatively larger quota of child laborers than the other pupils. In several of the provinces it was discovered that half of the working pupils began work before they were eight years old, and a considerable number began before they attained the school age of six years.

In Belgium the law regulating child labor permits industrial employment at twelve years, although between twelve and sixteen the conditions of work are much restricted. For an extended list of occupations regarded as dangerous or injurious, employment and even presence in the factory is entirely prohibited. For children under thirteen the hours of work per day must not exceed six. For children under sixteen the hours in many industries are limited to ten, though in the cotton industry the limit is eleven and one-half per day, or sixty-six per week, and in other textile industries the limit is eleven per day. Night work between the hours of nine and five is prohibited for males under sixteen, and all females under twenty-one years in a list including many industries.

In Belgium, also, the number of inspectors is reported as inadequate, and inspectors complain that the fines imposed for violation of law are altogether too low to produce a proper deterrent effect, to circumvent the law.

A FEW FACTS

By Fisher.

New Orleans, La., April 29, 1911.
Editor Electrical Worker.

Greeting:—In reviewing the present conditions now existing in the ranks of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers caused by the forming of a secession organization of Electrical workers, and the raving of some of these depraved mortals whose personal animosity is to simply hold office. Men who care little what becomes of the direct interests of the Brotherhood, other than keeping enough of their followers together to get their salary out of it, and that of their friends, and at the same time trying to cause a general dissension in the ranks of the whole trade union movement of this country to attain nothing more or less than their personal end, in trying to bring discredit on the officers of the labor movement, men who have built up some of the greatest organizations of their craft in this country, and who have been successful leaders of it for years, in getting better conditions, shorter hours, and better pay, along with many other conditions too numerous to mention who have been tried in times of trouble, and never found wanting. Now let us see what the object of any set of men who would try and tear down all this work is, whether it is for personal reasons as we have stated, or whether it is for the benefit of Mr. C. W. Post who strongly commends them in a half page paid advertisement in the Philadelphia North American under date of July 19th, 1910, as being free from the labor trust as he quotes it. Our opinion, however, in a case like this is that we do not care to have the good will of any such men as Post to boost our organization, for all legitimate organized labor knows the attitude of this man Post toward organized labor for the last few years, so no doubt but what he will come to their rescue if they are not successful in their effort alone in their attempt to disrupt the American Federation of Labor, which he, Post, quotes as the Labor Trust, anyway it seems as though the old saying was true, the birds of feather will flock together.

The trade union movement of this country can readily see what our organization has been up against in the last two years that we have had to contend with this bunch of labor pirates, using every means within their power to disrupt the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as will be shown by some of the tactics shown below, however we can proudly say that they have not been successful, nor will they ever be successful, anymore than they will to break up the

A. F. of L., the parent body of all organized labor of America.

A Few Facts Of Today.

Our good faith in trying to bring unity among the Electrical Workers, is shown as follows, at the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L. we entered into, and signed a joint agreement with the leaders of the seceders, to have a joint convention, of both organizations, and that the American Federation of Labor was to act as a mediator in the matter of adjustment of the controversy.

First, we did comply with all provisions of that agreement, withdrew all suits at law even before our Delegates left Denver as can be verified by the proceedings of that convention, and did accept and abide by all other stipulations of said agreement, and which we have proven to the A. F. of L. in convention on two different occasions since, namely, at Toronto, Can., and St. Louis, Mo., and which is proven more conclusive, is that our organization has been sustained at all times by the A. F. of L.

Now comes the seceders, their first violation was the refusal of their Treasurer Sullivan to accept the bank designated by Pres. Gompers, giving as his reason, a business reason, claiming the Brotherhood would lose money in interest by changing the funds from the home of secessionism, Cleveland, to Springfield, and while as a matter of fact, that the amount of time that it would have taken to have settled the controversy would have even at the closest figures, only been a very small loss, but instead of that, he has spent according to his own sworn statements (if they are correct) published in the scandalizer, over \$4,000.00 in trying to keep the suits in Cleveland from being tried on their merits to see whether his rump convention held at St. Louis was legal or not, at the same time, he sent his attorney around the country taking depositions from the different local unions, now that is a great saving for the Brotherhood, and above all this, his so-called convention held in St. Louis, Sept. 15th, 1908, instructed him to proceed with the suits at Cleveland without delay, now we ask, what can be his reason if he is so sure he will win them, to keep on using every technical point known to legal talent to keep from trying his own suit, and at the same time telling his members, that they are going to try them.

Double Cross.

Here is what we have had to contend with in the past in regard to the trying of the suits, first, when they could not get the A. F. of L. to keep us from pushing

the trial of the suits, they would get the courts to delay the matter, stating they were going to settle the matter by peaceful terms, then when the courts were against them, they agreed to the A. F. of L. that they would abide by the Denver agreement, and hold a joint convention and get together, then when the time come for them to do that, they would fail to respond, and fall back on their former friend the Court for more delay, now the cry is, we want to get together, we want a joint convention under the last plan laid down by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.

Now, after them having all the former chances of the same thing as they now want, namely a joint convention, we wonder what has so suddenly changed their attitude along this line, and we still further question their sincerity of the matter relative to holding a joint convention, and my opinion of it is as follows, it is simply a play for more time, and to get the A. F. of L. to step in and prevent us from trying their suits now pending, and that when the time come for them to show up in joint convention, that they will still be found wanting, giving as an excuse, "business reasons." While I wish it understood, that I am not opposed to the holding of a joint convention, but before I will ever be in favor of it, I will have to have better assurance that it will be a success, than the word of the leaders of the seceders, for they have had this same chance several other times, and availed it everytime, for "Business reasons," whatever that is. Maybe they can tell, I can't.

At the same time, they were not able to hold their own convention last fall when it was to be held according to their constitution, owing to the fact, they were shy on funds, and that is queer, as they state they have about 9 per cent of the organized Electrical Workers, of which have been paying per capita tax to them for over two years, and the drawing out of a bank in Cleveland the sum of \$13,500, and the levying of several assessments, now we wonder what they have done with all this money, still their receipts today show about two thousand dollars less than what they drew out of the Cleveland bank. Now let us see. With as they claim, only ten per cent of the organized electrical workers, we have paid per capita tax to the A. F. of L. and all Depts.; paid from one to three hundred dollars death benefits, (where they only pay one hundred); payed part of the expenses of the holding of our Chicago convention in 1909 (they failed to hold theirs), and we never drew one cent out of any bank, and today have fifteen thousand dollars. Now it occurs to me that if we can do this on ten per cent, that they could do wonders on ninety per

cent. This will bear a lot of explanation to me before I will believe they have the 90 per cent of the membership of the organized electrical workers.

Now a word further on this joint convention, if they are so sincere in their effort along that line, why is it, they are using all the power at their control to get local unions away from us, and bragging at the same time, that they will soon absorb the McNulty faction as they term it, and that in the course of a very short time, there will only be them to look to in the future it seems if our doom was that close for them, that there would be no reason for them wanting a joint convention so quick, and that they would wait and take our scalp into their own convention, for one of their organizers says, the world loves a winner, so it occurs to me, that I would rather be a hero for my cause when victory was so near, than to lay down and give up to the other fellow all that I had won, I think you are in a little doubt as to the color of your flag you are sailing under, but the labor movement can see the color, and it is very RED, with the skull and cross bones as the official emblem on it, so you will find that when you reach port that you will have to lower that color before you will be permitted to land.

Now in view of all those facts, and the many more disreputable tactics they have employed to attain their personal and irrespective of the principal they claim to have, as trade unionists, such as importing strike breakers to take the places of our men who were either on strike or lockout to better their conditions or hold what conditions they have already, such as was done at Gary, Ind., on two different occasions the first time when the Mighty Czar Sullivan wrote to his St. Louis Local for men to take our places at Gary, they refused him by saying that they would not scab on us, as can be shown by court depositions taken from the minutes books of their local in that city, notwithstanding all this, they now openly come out in their reports and say they are glad to have the pleasure of sending men to Gary to take the place of our men who are at present time locked out there along with all the rest of the Building Trades of that city, and have been since last fall, this can be verified by reading a report from one of their organizers named Hoskinson, who openly brags of sending the men there to assist the contractors in maintaining their principal for the open shop, which the Commercial Club of that city has endorsed their action in. We ask all fair-minded union men if they believe in that kind of trade unionism on the part of any organization which might do it, they even now

go further than this now in places where our local unions have established fair working conditions, they now go in and tell the contractors if they will work their men instead of our men, that they will furnish them with men from 25 cents per day to \$1.00 per day cheaper than what our men will work for, such as was done recently at Albany, N. Y., when Reid and Myers tried to get Gov. Dix to hire their men instead of our men from local No. 3, New York City, their men to receive \$3.50 per day, while our men on the job were receiving \$4.50 per day. Now when men claiming to be labor leaders will resort to such underhand methods as this to attain their personal end, it is high time, that the Trade Union Movement of this country join together as a whole, are driving them from existence, for they are so low in principle, that if they would practice tactics like this on our members, they would be only too glad to do the same thing to any other trade that might have similar conditions, in fact, what ever organization Mr. Post might tell them too disrupt. However, I will say, first last and all the time that if the followers of the seceders are built of men of this caliber, and who believe in those tactics that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers do not want you in their ranks, as our organization is not composed of men of this kind, and we have always been able to get conditions without SCABBING to do it, and if we cannot better our conditions in the future the same way, why one thing that you can rest assured of if that we will never SCAB or uphold anyone that

does, and whatever the outcome of any settlement may be, the rights of our members must come first, as we are the parent organization of Electrical Workers, having been chartered by the American Federation of Labor in 1891.

The secession leaders have endeavored to make capital out of the fact, that recently several prominent labor leaders have been beaten for re-election by their organization, and that is a disgrace to them, and all they have ever said against them, however, if this holds true, it seems to me, as though one of their strongest supporters received the hardest blow, and that is T. L. Lewis of the miners. I know of no labor official beaten for office lately who brought any more discredit on his organization during his administration than did this same man Lewis, and we trust the mine workers will regain some of the lost ground under the new administration that it lost under Lewis, who like Sullivan, was the czar while in office.

Again assuring our membership that we will at all times in the future do anything in our power to bring unity among the Electrical Workers that is within the bounds of reason, and one thing that you may rest assured of, is that we will never submit to giving our Brotherhood over to any such a band of disrupting labor pirates as are now posing as leaders of the secessionism, and that the rights of our members will be protected at all times from this bunch of numb skulls.

With best wishes for the future success of the Brotherhood and all legitimate organized labor,

I beg to remain,

Fraternally yours,

FRANK FISHER.

LABOR'S NEW BILL IN PARLIAMENT.

Legislation Introduced to Legalize Broader Trade Union Activity.

The guiding spirits of the Labor Party in Great Britain have presented to parliament its new Bill to legalize the expenditure of funds by trade unions in whatsoever manner directed by these organizations.

The text has been issued of the Trades Union Law Amendment (No. 2) Bill, presented by Mr. Johnson, and supported by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr. Enoch Edwards, Mr. James Haslam, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. William Harvey, Mr. Hudson, Mr. George Roberts, Mr. Clynes, and Mr. Par-

ker. The measure seeks to enact that a Trade Union shall have power, and shall be deemed always to have had power, whether acting by itself or in conjunction with any other Trade Union Association, body or person, to apply its funds or any portion thereof, for or towards or in connection with—

(a) The purpose of procuring, or assisting to procure, the return of members of Parliament, or of any public or local authority, or of any other public body; or

(b) The purpose of providing, or partly providing, for the maintenance and other expenses of such members or

(c) Both such purposes; and to do such other acts as may in the opinion of the Trade Union, be desirable in order to promote, whether by political action or otherwise, the interests of workmen.